

The Antiquaries Journal

Being the Journal of the Society of Antiquaries of London

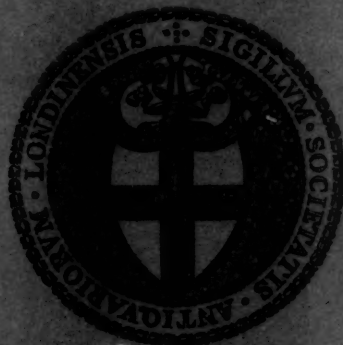
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JULY-OCTOBER 1953



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VOLUME XXXIII

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ANNIVERSARY ADDRESS

By SIR JAMES MANN, President

[Delivered 23rd April 1953]

I HAVE once more to thank you for the renewal of your confidence and to express my intention of continuing to serve the interests of the Society with such ability as I possess. There never was a period when our work was more necessary, for the destruction brought by peace is even greater than the destruction wrought by war on the visible evidence of past history. The excavation of sites before they are built over or used for other purposes is a matter of constant urgency. The destruction of country houses no longer required for their original purpose must be controlled. But as our material becomes restricted, the increasing knowledge which we acquire through research throws ever more light on the past. The task of this Society, and it has never been pursued with greater zeal, is the dissemination and enlargement of our knowledge of the cultures of the past of all dates and in all lands.

Last month we had to deplore the great loss suffered by the Society by the death of our Royal Fellow, Her late Majesty Queen Mary. She took a literally tireless interest in our museums and galleries. Every Museum Director in London, and many in the provinces, has vivid memories of these visits. They were no formal or superficial occasions. With her prodigious memory she could often supply information of the greatest value, pointing out comparisons with objects in other places which she had seen, sometimes many years ago. She was herself a lifelong collector. Her tastes changed with the years, beginning with the craftsmanship of the Far East, carvings in ivory and jade, and in more recent years concentrating on bibelots of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Her collections were most carefully catalogued by herself. Not only was she an expert visitor to museums and exhibitions, but she equally enjoyed her visits to many small antique-dealers throughout the land. Many of her acquisitions on these occasions were made with a view to future gifts to her numberless relations and friends. As recently as the 18th March last, one of the great-great-granddaughters of Queen Victoria received her usual birthday present from Queen Mary; for the first time it was not accompanied by a personal note, but a letter from her Lady-in-Waiting saying that the Queen regretted that she could not write herself. Six days later, on 24th March, she passed away. During King George V's reign of twenty-five years, Queen Mary employed her taste and knowledge in improving the furniture and decorations of the Royal Palaces. Many visitors to the State Rooms of Windsor Castle may see

objects which they may well think have always stood where they now stand, but many are in fact comparatively recent acquisitions, made by Queen Mary with a great sense of historical appropriateness. Only a few yards from this room in the Royal Academy at this moment, in the Exhibition of 'Kings and Queens', there stand two fine terra-cotta busts of King George II and his consort Queen Caroline, by Rysbrack, which come from one of the State Rooms at Windsor Castle. One might assume that these are old hereditary possessions of the Crown, but they were in fact purchased by Queen Mary some twenty years ago. Her interests were very wide, but were more concerned with applied art than with painting, except that in the case of the latter, she had a deep interest in the subjects of portraiture, especially of the members of the dynasty, however remote and obscure the relationship. No one could identify an anonymous miniature believed to be a member of a European house more surely than she could. When she stayed at Badminton during the recent war she occupied herself in putting the family archives of the Duke of Beaufort in order. Sir Osbert Sitwell has referred to this in his charming essay in the *Burlington Magazine* called 'The Red Folder'. Her life was bisected by the war of 1914-18. For more than half of it she lived in the age when European culture was a unity, and retained the dignity and poise, serene and unruffled, of a great personage.

The Society has also lost during the past year two eminent former Presidents in Sir Frederic Kenyon and Sir Charles Peers, of whom I need not say more now, as the obituary notice of one has been published in the *Journal*, and that of Sir Charles Peers is in the press. Both in their very different ways contributed much to the well-being of this Society, Sir Charles Peers serving it as an officer for more than thirty years.

We also have to lament the death of Professor Hamilton Thompson, who was a Vice-President from 1933 to 1937, and a past President of the Royal Archaeological Institute, and a great authority on medieval architecture. One of his early books is specially fixed in my memory because I read much of it in a quiet spot I found between the British and Austrian lines during the First World War. We also lost one of our oldest Fellows in Mr. Montague Giuseppe, who was elected as long ago as 1895; and our second senior Fellow, Mr. J. W. Walker, who was elected in June 1888. What a link this makes with the epoch of Sir William St. John Hope, Sir Hercules Read, and Sir Arthur Evans. Yes, there were giants in those days, and blinkered specialism was not so common as it is now.

As you know, in recent years the Society has concerned itself with three problems of the post-war world. Firstly, the deplorable state of many parish churches as a result of neglect during the war years. Secondly, the demolition of country houses, which has been far greater in peace than in war; and thirdly, with the shrinkage of our national heritage through the export of antiquities and works of art to foreign countries, without the compensation of any return flow in an open market. I am glad to state that in all three directions official steps are being taken to modify, if not to remedy, this state of affairs. Following the Commission set up by the Archbishop of Canterbury, which I reported last year, to inquire into the position of our parish churches, a public appeal for £4,000,000 was launched at a service in St. Martin-in-the-Fields last December, when addresses were given by

the Archbishop himself, the Lord Chancellor, and the Lord Chamberlain. This Society is represented on the Executive Committee of the body entrusted with the task of collecting and applying the money, and a good start has been made in both directions. Four millions may sound a large sum, but it is no more than the Church itself has spent in the years since the war for the same purpose. The task is spread over seven years, since there are not enough architects and skilled masons who could grapple with so vast a problem in a shorter time. This Society has already made a subscription, and I hope it will be possible to continue this. I also appeal to members individually to make their contributions if they have not already done so. The scope is undenominational, and not confined to churches of the Church of England.

The number of country houses demolished since the war is far greater than most people realize. Lord Euston has recently published in the *East Anglian* a most depressing account of what has happened in Norfolk and Suffolk. Among the houses that no longer exist is Goodrich Court in Herefordshire, built for our distinguished Fellow, Sir Samuel Meyrick, by another Fellow, Edward Blore, who was also the architect of Abbotsford for Sir Walter Scott.

There has been widespread disappointment that the Government has not been able to implement more fully the recommendations of the Gowers Report, but Mr. Butler has made a contribution in the right direction by exempting from death duties the chattels of houses handed over to the National Trust. This will also assist in reducing the continued outflow of works of art and antiquity from this country. Before the war this traffic was entirely uncontrolled in our island, though regulated more or less strictly in other countries that had inherited an old civilization. It was partly by an accident that works of art came under supervision during the war when steps were taken to prevent valuable assets leaving the country at a time when its financial condition was extremely precarious. This supervision has continued since the war, and two years ago the Government set up a Royal Commission under Lord Waverley to inquire into the whole complicated matter, and, as you know, this Society was called to give evidence before it. Supervision has been made permanent, but in a different form. It remains to be seen how well the new system will work, but at any rate it shows that the Government is aware of the general situation. There is perhaps too much emphasis laid on the acquisition by museums of works of art in danger of export. It would be a very sad day when all our art and antiquities are confined in museums, and none remained in the homes of private persons as an essential part of what the Greeks called *τό ἐν ζῆν*, the good and balanced life.

During the past year the Society was invited to take part in a protest against the turning into a public space of the churchyard of Lewisham parish church, a fine example of eighteenth-century architecture, of which the tombstones form an integral part of its setting. This was a test case. The Chancellor of the Diocese ruled out the three societies concerned as not legally qualified to intervene, but a local parishioner qualified to protest was then put forward and was able to call in support of his views the three societies. This brought them back into the case in another capacity, with most successful results. This Society does not wish to be regarded as an obstacle to all change, and the question of churchyards to my mind

is a very difficult one. My own view is that each case of this kind should be considered on its merits.

You remember that last year I had the painful duty of reporting to you the theft of a number of valuable volumes belonging to the Roxburghe Club which were in our care. Since then, I am glad to say, the thief has been identified and duly brought to justice. It is a great relief to all to know that it was someone unconnected with this Society who was responsible for this disgraceful act. He was an American student who came to read in our rooms, armed with unimpeachable recommendations. Similar thefts from other bodies, all of much the same nature, enabled the suspects to be narrowed down, and the culprit made a full confession when accused. It then transpired that he had stolen not only the Roxburghe Club's books but also a number of books from the Society's own library. It is possible that these are not all yet known, for although the thief made a full confession, an additional book taken by him has since been returned. He had presented this with a flourish to his former teacher at the Fogg Museum with an inscription on the fly-leaf; this has been allowed to remain as a curiosity of literature. I understand that after serving his sentence in this country, he has returned to his native land where the American police may be awaiting him on further charges.

To celebrate the Bicentenary of our Royal Charter we launched an appeal for a large sum of money for the publication of research, over and above our normal publications of *Archaeologia* and the *Antiquaries Journal*. I am sorry to say that although the sum already received is quite large, the contributors up to the present only number 77 out of a membership of some 900. Furthermore, of the amount raised, by far the greater part comes from two donors only. This is a disproportion, which I think must be in part due not so much to hard times, which we all feel, as to a tendency on the part of recipients to put aside the printed appeal with the intention of dealing with it at some later date. It is proposed, therefore, to issue a second appeal, and I hope that all those who are in a position to contribute, and who have not already done so, will send subscriptions. The main purpose of this Society, as I have already said, is to enlarge knowledge, and the best way to do this is in adequately produced publications. The cost of printing has risen greatly since the war, but we must keep our place in the forefront of archaeological and antiquarian research. This demands a sacrifice, but it is a sacrifice in a great cause.

I think very few people deplored the act of Mr. Butler on Budget Day of taking 6d. off the income tax. One of the few people who must have regarded this with mixed feelings is our Treasurer. By the system of covenants which many of our Fellows sign, the income tax represented by their annual subscription is reclaimed for the Society's benefit. This will mean that we shall lose sixpence on each nine shillings of the amount recoverable. On the other hand, reduction in purchase tax should lower the cost of our publications and other items, and I hope offset the loss in revenue.

The papers read during the last session cover, as they should, a fairly wide field. In the early periods we have had papers from Dr. Kenyon on Neolithic Jericho, one by the Secretary on the excavation of a Dark Age Habitation Site in North Cornwall, and a paper on the chambered tomb of Barclodiad y Gawres by Mr.

Powell and Dr. Daniel. Last week, although I was myself unfortunately unable to be present, a second report on his excavation of the late Iron Age fortifications at Stanwick was presented by the Director. Professor Toynbee and Mr. Nicholson gave us an important paper on the newly discovered wall-paintings showing evidence of Christian occupation in the Roman villa at Lullingstone. For the Middle Ages we had a very stimulating paper on continental influences on the building of the North Wales castles. While congratulating Mr. Taylor on his researches, I still find it hard to believe, that when we could ourselves build on the Welsh border such complicated edifices as Tintern Abbey, the cathedrals of Gloucester and Hereford, and Abbey Dore, we had to send to the bleak and impoverished state of Savoy for masons for the great Edwardian castles. The varieties of spelling proper names in English documents puzzle even the expert. It was, however, a very gallant attempt, and I am prepared to be converted. Mr. Rouse gave us another paper, such as we expect of him, on the early wall-paintings in Coombes church, and Mr. Stanford London on some unpublished fifteenth-century heraldic treatises. Mr. Dunning gave us in little over an hour the result of half a lifetime's work on the identification of the sources of late Saxon and medieval pottery found in this country. In view of the importance of pottery in the dating of archaeological sites, this paper when printed is bound to be extremely useful for workers in the field. The late Lord Crawford, when President, was once heard to murmur to himself, as a lecturer developed his theme, 'More flint arrow-heads!' Today, with the shifting of archaeological interests, he might, if alive, be heard to say 'What, more pottery!' We had the pleasure of a paper from Sir Thomas Kendrick on the Battle of Clavijo, and a most interesting examination by its owner of the history of the lesser George worn by Charles I on the scaffold, which can probably, if not certainly, be identified with one in the possession of the Duke of Wellington.

There were three papers somewhat out of the ordinary. All were concerned with the reassessment of objects already well known. One was Professor Stuart Piggott's penetrating examination of the famous Iron Age chanfron, formerly in the collection of Sir Walter Scott and now in the Royal Scottish Museum. Under his critical eye and that of Mr. Atkinson it was proved to be a pastiche, put together by an unscrupulous antiquary some 150 years ago. I understand that Professor Piggott is now pursuing his iconoclastic path on another famous relic. Though rather less startling, we heard a paper of a somewhat similar kind by Miss Maire MacDermott on the Kells Crozier in the British Museum. Turning her searchlight upon it, she was able to set convincingly before us the various dates of its different component parts, the additions covering a considerable period of time. Thirdly, there was Mr. Martin Holmes's and General Sitwell's paper on St. Edward's Crown in the Regalia, where the process was reversed. Instead of disillusionment, a case was put forward for regarding the substance of the crown as having formed part of the original medieval crown, and not, as is normally held, a production of Charles II's goldsmiths. But it is hard to prove a positive on negative evidence.

The tendency of recent years has been for the growth of activity by institutions instead of by individuals. We have accepted the Welfare State, but in making the individual safe, he can no longer expect to live as spaciouly as he did or have the

range of possessions which he once enjoyed. This portends among other things the gradual disappearance of the private library, because books take up a lot of space in a house, and so does a collection of antiquities or works of art. One hopes that a compromise will be reached, because it is the individual in his library, burning the midnight oil (which is not allowed in the reading room of the British Museum), and the collector who strikes out on a new line, on whom we have so largely depended in the past for the initiative in research and the enlargement of its scope. If there is only one source of patronage, the opportunities will shrink. One remembers how many bodies Columbus approached for support for his expedition to the New World before he at last found a patron for his seemingly fantastic beliefs. This Society is a collection of individuals and I hope will always remain so, unaffected by official pressures, and able to express its own mind. When we try to protect the evidence of the past, we are not hide-bound conservatives. We have as antiquaries a vested interest in change. If there had been no change there would be no antiquaries. What we must do is to save for the future what is best of the past. If we do not do this, we may be sure that future generations will reproach us in the severest terms.

THE SCAFFOLD GEORGE OF CHARLES I

By THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON, K.G., F.S.A.

THE last act performed by King Charles I when he was standing on the scaffold beside his executioner was to hand the Lesser George of the Order of the Garter, which he was wearing suspended from a ribbon round his neck, to Bishop Juxon, uttering as he did so the word 'Remember'. The George was taken from the bishop by the Parliamentarians, but was eventually recovered by Charles II.¹

It is only natural to suppose that so sacred and so portable a relic was taken away by James II. He is stated by Madame de Sévigné² to have used a George which had belonged to his father when investing the duc de Lauzun with the Garter in February 1689. This is not recorded to have been the Scaffold George, but it shows that he took his family's insignia of the Garter with him into exile. In the eighteenth century it was universally believed that Charles I's Scaffold George was in the possession of the exiled Stuarts. Sir R. Payne-Gallwey quotes a letter written from Rome in December 1785. This letter describes Prince Charles Edward as wearing the George 'which is interesting as being the one King Charles had on when he was beheaded, and that he desired to be sent to his son'.

Even before the death of Prince Charles Edward, which occurred in Rome in January 1788, George Prince of Wales had conceived the idea of recovering the George. Prince Charles Edward, who was known as the Count of Albany, was old and without legitimate children. His brother was a cardinal and the last male descendant of the Stuart family. It was therefore believed that the Count would be ready to sell. The Prince of Wales's friend, Sir Ralph Payne, was going to Italy at the end of 1787 and was charged with the negotiation. On 28th May 1788 he wrote to the Prince of Wales from Rome as follows:³

Rome, May 28th, 1788

Sir,—My very anxious desire of bringing to some state of decision, the event of the commission with which your Royal Highness honoured me previously to my departure from England, respecting the George of the Order of the Garter, which King Charles the First, in his dying moments, delivered into the hands of Bishop Juxon, and which descended to the late Count of Albany, has detained me at Rome some weeks. . . . On hearing of the death of the Count of Albany, I lost no time in procuring an introduction to the Duchess of Albany,⁴ daughter to the late Count, and heiress to all his jewels. . . . I look upon this business to be accomplished, provided your Royal Highness shall approve of the two conditions which have been exacted of me. . . .

The first of them is your Royal Highness's royal word that, your Royal Highness being put

¹ See *A History of the George worn on the Scaffold by Charles I* by Sir R. Payne-Gallwey, Bt., London, Edward Arnold, 1908. letters. The quotations printed here are from Sir R. Payne-Gallwey's book.

² Madame de Sévigné to Mme de Grignan, 28th Feb. 1689.

³ It has not been possible to consult the Payne

⁴ Charlotte duchess of Albany, daughter of Prince Charles Edward and Clementina Walkinshaw, born 1753, died 1789. She was legitimized by her father and created Duchess of Albany.

in possession of the desired object, the transaction shall remain a profound secret in your Royal Highness's breast. The Duchess's whole dependence (or very nearly the whole of it) is upon her uncle the Cardinal York, who allows her 12,000 Roman crowns a year, and the bulk of whose fortune she will probably inherit at his death. . . . As the Cardinal considers himself, at present, successor to all his brother's rights and dignities (imaginary as they are), he has withdrawn from the Duchess all the badges and distinctions of the different British Orders which belonged to the late Count of Albany, and which the late Count constantly wore. Fortunately the George which belonged to Charles I, was at the time of the Count's death at his palace at Florence; and, not having been delivered by the Duchess to the Cardinal among the other ensigns of the different Orders, it has escaped his attention. . . . If ever, by any unfortunate accident, the Cardinal should arrive at the knowledge that she had not only reserved from him this memorable badge, but had parted with it, particularly to a Prince whose House he considers as inimical to his Family; his temper, which is naturally impetuous, would certainly be exasperated to a degree most fatal to his niece, whom he would probably in the first instance turn out of doors, after stripping her of every comfort, as well as circumstance of magnificence in which she has been supported since the death of her Father. Your Royal Highness will probably agree that the Duchess has some colour of reason for desiring that formal pledge of secrecy which is the preliminary condition of her cession of the George. . . .

I am now to state to your Royal Highness the second preliminary. . . . Your Royal Highness is to be informed that a certain settlement on Queen Mary, Consort of James II, which was in every respect properly recorded, and explicitly recognised by several subsequent Acts of Parliament, was due to her, with interest, at the period of the Revolution. . . . The late Count of Albany had begun to institute a renewal of this claim, but did not live to make any material progress in it. The Duchess, his daughter, succeeds to the claim as heiress to her Father's moiety of the debt, and assignee to that of her uncle the Cardinal, who has made it over to her. She seems to revive the application which had formerly been preferred to the Court of Great Britain. . . . All that is desirable to be done at present (and this is the substance of the second condition which has been proposed to me) is, that it should be made to appear to the Duchess that whenever she may hereafter think proper to revive the subject, she may reasonably advert to your Royal Highness as a friend and auxiliary in the prosecution of her claim. . . .

The Duchess, a few days ago, in showing me a variety of the family jewels which have devolved to her by the will of her father, the late Count of Albany, put into my hands the George in question, which belonged to King Charles I. The St. George and Dragon are cut upon an onyx which is encircled by a single row of ten diamonds and rubies, set alternately, and, as well as I could measure the size of it by my eye, the length of the oval may be about two inches and a half; the breadth proportionable.

This negotiation is confirmed in a letter¹ addressed to her mother, Clementina Walkinshaw, in Paris by the Duchess of Albany:

The Duchess of Albany to Clementina Walkinshaw.

Rome, le 2 juillet, 1788.

Je crois chere maman qu'il faudra laisser entre les mains de Cowley² ou de Busony³ le Brevet de pension, ou bien garder le car je non ai aucun besoin, il faudra voir Mr. Walker lorsqu'il passera par Paris cela est esentiel j'ai beaucoup desesperance de reusir parce que j'ai un moien et une occasion unique pour tirer parti de cette affaire mais il faut pour mettre cette negociation

¹ In the Bodleian Library: MS. North d. 28, ff. 213-14. dictines in Paris.

² William Cowley, prior of the English Bene-
³ Busoni managed the affairs of the Count of Albany and of the Duchess in Paris.

en train que ma bonne amie my lady Payne soit en Angleterre elle son maris et ses beaux freres passent leurs vies avec le prince de G. et ce dernier a le plus grand desir de m'obliger parce que je puis un jour lui donner un ordre precieux qu'il acheterait au prix de sa fortune. Cecy est un secret non parlez a personne qu'a notre amis cette ordre est celui que Charles premier avait sur lui le jour de sa mort. La vente de mon palais sera termine dans ce mois cy a ce que l'on me fait esperer 30 mille ecus florentins etc. . . .

The Prince of Wales replied to Sir Ralph Payne as follows:

Carlton House, June 28th, 1788.

My dear Sir Ralph,—I return you many thanks for the trouble you have had on my account on the subject of the George, and I feel very sensibly the obliging conduct of the Duchess of Albany on this occasion.

I am much indebted to you for letting me into the delicate situation in which the Duchess stands, and the risque she incurs in parting with the article in question; and, as it serves to heighten the favour to be conferred in the greatest degree, so will it be an additional tie, if any such could be wanting, to the most punctual observance of my sacred word that the transaction shall remain a profound secret. . . .

From your statement of the Duchess of Albany's claims in right of her father, without any other consideration than what is suggested to me by my own honour, I feel myself bound to give every assistance in my power towards the accomplishment of her wishes whenever her claims shall be transmitted hither.—I am, my dear Payne, yours sincerely,

GEORGE P.

The Payne papers do not reveal whether Sir Ralph was finally successful or not. But a letter exists among them from Mr. Dundas, later 1st Viscount Melville, to Lord Loughborough¹ recommending that the Prince should not aid the Duchess in raising the question of the arrears of the dowry of Mary of Modena. It is therefore probable that the matter was dropped. If in point of fact the Prince had bought the relic, it is surely inconceivable that no record of the transaction should have survived, in spite of the Prince's promise of secrecy.

The Duchess of Albany died at Bologna on 17th November 1789. Her will was made three days before. In it she named her uncle, Cardinal York, her residuary legatee, subject to certain bequests. No specific mention is made of Garter Jewels.

In the early 1790's the Cardinal's revenues began to fall off. His subsidies from France were naturally no longer paid. He began to sell his possessions. The Duke of Sussex was in Rome in 1792 and 1793 and in an undated letter,² evidently written at this time, he tells his brother, the Prince of Wales, that he has bought from the Cardinal of York's collection an onyx George of the Garter, 'which is not the Famous George but a very fine one'. The 'Famous George' must be the Scaffold George, and this passage indicates that the Prince of Wales had not acquired it. About the same time Sir J. Coxe Hippisley bought for the Prince of Wales a large sapphire, formerly among the English Crown Jewels.³ In 1796 the Cardinal sold

¹ Alexander Wedderburn, 1st Baron Loughborough; Lord Chief Justice 1780-92; later Lord Chancellor and Earl of Rosslyn.

² In the Royal Archives at Windsor Castle.

³ The Prince of Wales gave this sapphire to

Princess Charlotte and after her death to Lady Conyngham (see Appendix A, *The Journal of Mrs. Arbuthnot*, Macmillan & Co., 1950). The sapphire is now in the Imperial Crown.

the Sobieski ruby to aid the Pope in an unsuccessful endeavour to buy off the armies of Napoleon. He is also stated, without corroboration, to have sold a Garter George to Lord Hertford at this period. But no mention is made of any sale of the Scaffold George, which would surely have been recorded if it had occurred.

From 1800 the Cardinal was in receipt of a pension from the British Crown. When he died in 1807 his executors, in accordance with his wishes, sent to the Prince of Wales his insignia which consisted of a ruby Coronation ring, a badge of the Order of the Thistle, and a Collar and Greater George of the Garter. These jewels, which included, be it noted, no Lesser George, were deposited in 1830 in Edinburgh Castle, where they now are.

In view of these circumstances, it must be concluded that the Cardinal never owned the Scaffold George. It will be remembered that his niece did not hand it over to him with the other insignia on the death of her father. In fact, she particularly asked Sir R. Payne not to mention that she had it in her possession. If the Cardinal had ever owned it, he would surely either have sold it to the Prince of Wales, with Coxe Hippisley acting as intermediary, or it would have passed at his death with his other official jewels.

For twenty-three years following 1788 there is no written evidence of what was happening to the George, but towards the end of the year 1810 the Marquess Wellesley, who since December 1809 had been Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, decided to renew the attempt made by the Prince of Wales to acquire it.¹ He commissioned a Monsieur F. Cheutri to discover and buy it for him. The fact that this country was at war with any part of Europe where the George was likely to be found did not disturb him.

The following letter preserved among Lord Wellesley's papers in the British Museum (Add. MS. 37290, f. 249) shows how M. Cheutri accomplished his task:

Monsieur Cheutri to the Marquess Wellesley.

'The noble Lord Marquis Wellesley
Excellence,

Dès que j'arrivai à Paris je fis toutes les démarches possible pour tracer l'antique représentant le St. George. Mais malgré mes empressements, je ne put pas en venir à bout et seulement avant de partir pour l'Italie en faisant connaissance (à la loge de Framaçons), avec le célèbre antiquaire Mr. L'Abbé Sestini² je lui confidai l'ordre que j'avais pour l'achat de la pierre en question, il m'assura de tout son zèle pour me le faciliter possiblement.

Je partai ensuite de Paris, et en arrivant à Rome je ne m'enquai [*sic*] pas de renouveler mes recherches, lorsque j'appris du secretaire du feu Monseigneur Le Cardinal York que l'antique appartenant à la famille Stuart était dans les mains de la Comtesse d'Albanie.³

¹ Lord Wellesley no doubt anticipated that he would receive the Garter, which he did in March 1812.

² Abbé Domenico Sestini, d. 1832. A noted antiquary and numismatist, author of numerous writings on numismatics. See Jacques Charles Brunet, *Manuel du Libraire et de l'amateur de livres* (Paris, 1843), vol. iv, p. 268.

³ Louise de Stolberg, Countess of Albany, born 1752, married Prince Charles Edward, Count of Albany, 1772. She left him in 1780. She was first associated with Vittorio Alfieri, who died in 1806, and later with François Xavier Fabre. She died in 1821, bequeathing her possessions to Fabre. They are now in the Museum at Montpellier.

Je me rendis ensuite à Florence où je reçus une lettre du dit Abbé Sestini, par la quelle il m'informait d'avoir tracé la pierre dont il s'agit, et dont on lui demandait quinze mille Francs [£600]. Je lui écrivis immédiatement de donner des *erres*¹ au Propriétaire jusqu'à tant que je serais à Paris, pour en compléter l'emplette.

Effectivement j'y arrivai, le 30 Janvier,² je vis l'antique en question, et je la portai chez Madame la Comtesse d'Albanie, qui m'assura être la même qu'appartenait au feu son Epoux qui la gardait toujours dans sa tabatière, et que l'on avait fait disparaître de chez elle depuis longtemps, ajoutant qu'elle voulait savoir comment et par quel moyen j'en étais le possesseur. Je lui répondis qu'il ne m'appartenait pas; que le jour suivant je l'informerai du nom du Propriétaire, mais effrayé par ses questions je jugeai à propos de ne plus aller chez elle.

J'obtins la pièce dont il s'agit pour la somme de cinq cent Louis d'Or [£400] de Monsieur Antoine Morelli, marchand d'antiques venant de Russie, qui demeurait dans la rue St. Omer, no. 33, a Paris. J'ai perdu seize et demi pour cent en conséquence du change sur Londres.

Je me glorifie de me dire,

My Lord, avec le plus haut respect
de Votre Excellence
le très humble et très obeist. Serviteur,
F. CHEUTRI.'

[docketed in Lord Wellesley's handwriting]

M. Cheutri
1811 [no month]

In 1832 Lord Wellesley was compelled to pawn his Garter jewels, and he wrote the following memorandum about his Badge on 1st February of that year:

This George is the work of an Italian Artist, Francesco du Pesia, employed by Charles the 1st in the early part of his reign. It is remarkable for two peculiarities, 1st the Figure on horseback is armed with a Sword; the weapon usually is a Spear. 2nd the Garter with the Motto are sculptured on the Onyx. To these may be added, many ornaments to the Figure and to the Horse, which are not commonly in use. These circumstances identify this George, as that usually worn by the unfortunate Monarch.

On the Scaffold, immediately before his execution, Charles the 1st placed this George in the hands of Juxon, Bishop of London with the word 'Remember!'—This word was given, to remind Juxon of his sacred charge, to place this George on the breast of Charles the second, with the solemn dying injunction of His Father; 'that if the Son should ever recover the Throne, the Son should not exercise vengeance against those who had caused the death of the Father.'

Bishop Juxon religiously observed this injunction and presented the George to Charles the 2nd, according to the orders of his unhappy Father.

It was worn by Charles the 2nd until his death; when it passed to James the 2nd; and at his abdication, was taken by him to France. From James the 2nd, it passed to the 1st and 2nd Pretenders; and from the last of them into the hands of the illegitimate descendants of that unfortunate race.

It was well known to many persons in England, especially to the Royal Family, that this George was in Italy.

¹ *erres*. The slot-marks of a deer. Presumably M. Cheutri meant 'indications' or 'information', but the exact significance is obscure.

² One wonders if this date, the anniversary of the

execution of Charles I, is pure coincidence. Possibly Lord Wellesley told him to find the George before the next anniversary and he goes out of his way to show that he did so.

In the year 1811, a person was employed by Lord Wellesley to discover and purchase it.

* It was acknowledged to be in the possession of one of the family of the Countess of Albany, purchased and brought to England.

The Diamonds, which surround it, were added in England.

* They are set 'Garterwise' after the Model in Ashmole, which is supposed to represent this George.

There is no doubt that the Onyx is that, which was worn by Charles the 1st, and by him delivered to Juxon on the Scaffold. The White Cornelian at the back of the Onyx was placed there for protection, and also for the purpose of an inscription to record the value of the George.

The two sentences marked thus * are crossed through with ink. This seems to have been done at the time the memorandum was written.

From both these documents it appears that the George passed from the possession of the Duchess of Albany to her stepmother, whom her father had so much disliked and about whom she is frequently disobliging in her letters to her uncle the Cardinal. She knew such sentiments would be pleasing to the Cardinal, with whom she was anxious to be on good terms. She affects to be shocked by her stepmother's affair with Alfieri, but as she was herself illegitimate and had, moreover, three illegitimate children by an archbishop,¹ one feels that it was not for her to cast stones and that the casting was done without much conviction. At any rate, after her father's death her stepmother figures frequently in her letters to her own mother in Paris.²

On 5th March 1788 she writes that she has received a very polite letter from the Countess of Albany whose conduct has been full of consideration and delicacy. She asks her mother to repeat her views in Paris so that they may get round to her stepmother, who was there at that time. The same letter goes on to say that she has been disappointed that no hoard of money has been found in the Palace at Florence. On 19th March she writes: 'Quant au douaire de la Ctesse. il ne faut pas songer seulement à faire la moindre demarche pour le paiement vis à vis de mon oncle. . . . Je compte que le palais de Florence paiera le douaire et une partie des dettes. Après cela je songerez à realiser par la vente des diamants.' It is quite clear that the Duchess was preoccupied with the necessity of paying off all that was owing to her stepmother.³

During that summer (1788) negotiations for the sale of the George for a very large sum were proceeding (see the letter to Clementina Walkinshaw printed on page 160). In the autumn they seem to have been dropped owing to the attitude of the British Government on the thorny question of the arrears of the dowry of Mary of Modena. The Duchess had carefully concealed from her uncle that she possessed a jewel which was worth a very large sum of money. Is it impossible that she made

¹ Ferdinand de Rohan, Archbishop of Bordeaux and afterwards of Cambrai. See *Prince Charlie's Daughter*, by H. Tayler (The Batchworth Press, London, 1950).

² These letters are now preserved in the Bodleian Library: MS. North d. 28.

³ In the Musée Fabre at Montpellier, there is a portrait of the Duchess of Albany which belonged to her stepmother. This seems to show that the two women, who were almost of the same age, were not on bad terms.

a secret arrangement with her stepmother to accept the jewel in lieu of some part of the money owing to her? The Countess of Albany was not at this time particularly hard up and she may well have been glad to agree to this arrangement. If she sold the jewel later, it was at a moment when she was short of money to pay for the enormously expensive monument which she erected to the memory of Alfieri.

According to M. Cheutri, the Countess of Albany no longer possessed the relic at the beginning of 1811, but she admits that she had owned it and lets it be understood that it had been stolen from her ('que l'on avait fait disparaître de chez elle'). One cannot help thinking that she had sold it to help pay for the monument to Alfieri in Santa Croce. Lord Wellesley, in his memorandum, is concerned chiefly to show that the cameo is that forming part of the Scaffold George, a view which he supports by various disputable statements. He says as little as he can about how it came into his possession. He first wrote that it was in the possession of one of the family¹ of the Countess of Albany, but he afterwards expunged the passage. No doubt he felt that this would imply that he had bought it in this quarter, which was not the case. It appears, however, to be quite certain that the George had belonged to the Countess of Albany, as stated by the Secretary to the late Cardinal York and by herself.

Another letter has been preserved which throws some further light on Lord Wellesley's purchase of the George. Little is known of Mr. John Forbes, the writer, but he was an old friend of the Wellesley family and some of his letters to the wife of the 1st Duke of Wellington are at Stratfield Saye. In 1855 he must have been a very old man.

Mr. J. Forbes to the 2nd Duke of Wellington.

Ombersley Court, Droitwich.

September 22, '55.

My dear Duke—I have heard lately that Hancock the Jewellers have had a 'George' in their possession, belonging to Lord Hertford² and that they give out that it is the identical one which King Charles the 1st handed to Juxon (the Bishop) while on the Scaffold, when he said to the Bishop 'Remember'.

I cannot vouch for the correctness of this report, but this I know and am ready to declare it, if necessary, *on oath*, that King Charles's George was obtained by the late Lord Wellesley from the Countess of Albany (Madame Alfieri) natural daughter of Prince Charles Stuart, to whom it was bequeathed by the Cardinal of York, to whom it came, through the Bishop, from Prince Charles. The George is a Sardonix and has the remarkable peculiarity of the Reins being in the wrong hand. Lord Wellesley received it, with a very polite letter from Madame Alfieri,³ through the Agency of a Tuscan Nobleman, whom he had engaged to endeavour to obtain it.

¹ By 'family' Lord Wellesley presumably meant 'household'.

² This is probably a George sold at Sotheby's in 1951. This came from the collection of Lord Hertford. It was not made before the second quarter of the eighteenth century.

³ Mr. Forbes may have seen Lord Wellesley reading a letter which accompanied the packet

and imagined that it came from the Countess of Albany. But it is possible that the Countess followed up the negotiations which were going on in Paris, and when she learned that the George was being bought for the British Foreign Secretary, she may have wished to curry his favour by pretending she had played a part in its sale.

It was on the Lid of an Ivory Box¹ and Madame Alfieri took it with the Diamonds which surrounded it, out of the Lid and sent it to Lord Wellesley.

I was sitting (tête à tête) with Lord Wellesley after dinner when it arrived and he required of me profound secrecy, before he shewed it to me, for a reason which I could explain.² Now, what I want to know is, whether you are in possession of that George, if so, you shall hear from me something more. My address is at Lord Westmorlands, where I am just going for a few days.

Your Grace's faithful friend and servant,
JOHN FORBES.

The passage about the Countess of Albany is, of course, full of obvious mistakes, and M. Cheutri was not a Tuscan nobleman. But this does not invalidate the writer's description of what he actually saw. Mr. Forbes was out of date in maliciously calling the Countess of Albany 'Madame Alfieri'. By this time she had become 'Madame Fabre'. Lord Wellesley wrote the memorandum on page 163 in 1832, because he found himself compelled to raise money on his Garter jewels. On his death in September 1842 these jewels, including the lesser George, were in the possession of Mr. J. Thornton Down, who had received them as security for an advance to Lord Wellesley. In 1843 the George was bought from Mr. J. Thornton Down by the 1st Duke of Wellington, from whom it has descended to the present owner.

In spite of Lord Wellesley's secrecy, rumours that he owned the Scaffold George leaked out. In 1837 a correspondent wrote to the Duke of Wellington to inquire if he owned the George. He was, of course, answered in the negative. In 1850 a person signing himself 'Sperans' wrote to *Notes & Queries* asking what had happened to the Scaffold George owned by the late Lord Wellesley. The duke was the last person likely to read *Notes & Queries* or even to hear about questions asked in it. 'Sperans' remained unanswered. On 1st October 1898 a correspondent signing himself 'Killigrew' (probably Sir R. Payne-Gallwey) reverts to 'Sperans' question. He mentions the various facts already known and the Payne correspondence. He asks what had Lord Wellesley to do with it? Again the 3rd Duke of Wellington did not reply. It is probable that he did not know about the query.

It cannot be pretended that this history provides irrefutable proof that Lord Wellesley acquired the Scaffold George, but certain basic facts emerge. In 1788 the George, generally believed to be the Scaffold George, belonged to the Duchess of Albany. Her uncle, the Cardinal of York, was her legatee, but he is not known ever to have possessed it and it did not pass at his death. It is known to have been subsequently in the possession of the last of the family, the widow of Prince Charles Edward, from whom it passed to Lord Wellesley. These facts taken together surely support a very strong claim that we have here the Scaffold George, if the Scaffold George were, in point of fact, taken away by James II as was universally believed in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. If the theory—and it is only a

¹ An inventory of the contents of the Count of Albany's palace at Florence contains the following items:

'une tabatière d'ivoire portrait de la Comtesse
'une St. George en diamant et camée
'une St. George en sculpture

'5 autre St. Georges'. (British Museum Add. MS. 30476, ff. 184 and 185.)

The mention of a snuff-box has some interest in view of the Countess of Albany's statement to Cheutri.

² The reason for secrecy was probably the known wish of the Prince Regent to possess the relic himself.

theory—advanced by Sir R. Payne-Gallwey in his *Scaffold George*, that the relic never left England is accepted, then the claim made in this paper falls to the ground.

So far only the history of the George, or the external evidence, has been discussed. We will now pass to the cameo itself, in other words, to the internal evidence.

THE CAMEO AND ITS SETTING

In his *Institution of the Order of the Garter*, published by Elias Ashmole in 1672, the Lesser George which King Charles I wore at his execution is described in the following terms:

The George which his said late Majesty wore at the time of his Martyrdom, was curiously cut in an Onix, set about with 21 large Table Diamonds, in the fashion of a Garter: On the back side of the George was the Picture of his Queen, rarely well limn'd, set in a Case of Gold, the lid neatly enamel'd with Goldsmiths work, and surrounded with another Garter, adorned with a like number of equal sized Diamonds, as was the foreside. A Draught of this Jewel, in three parts, open and shut, we have exhibited to the Readers view, among the Ensigns of the Order, at the beginning of the Chapter.

Elsewhere in his chapter on the Lesser George, Ashmole states that 'in this jewel is *St. George* represented in a riding posture, encountering the *Dragon* with his drawn Sword'. In the Greater George, *St. George* 'having thrown the *Dragon* upon his back, encounters him with a tilting Spear'. This distinction between sword and tilting spear ceased to be observed in the eighteenth century, and now both Greater and Lesser Georges show the saint armed with a spear.

The engraving in Ashmole's book (pl. xix, *b*), purporting to represent the Scaffold George, though signed 'Wenceslaus Hollar delineavit et sculpsit 1666', is so inferior to his engravings of views and buildings that it is difficult to believe that it is by the same hand. The setting of the cameo might have been drawn from Ashmole's description, but, as will be seen later, the setting does not concern us at present. The cameo, which is, of course, the important part of the jewel, is indicated sketchily. *St. George* is galloping from right to left. He holds his reins in his left hand and his sword in his right. The Statute lays down that the image of *St. George* should be placed 'within the ennobled Garter'. This surely means that the motto should appear somewhere, either, as was usual at this date, on the cameo itself or on the surrounding setting. In the Hollar engraving the motto of the Garter appears nowhere. On the other hand, there are some Greek letters on the background on each side of the saint's head which are difficult to understand and explain. The engraver must have been copying something which he did not himself understand. The two letters on the spectators' left of *St. George*'s head, stand for an abbreviation of 'O'ΑΓΙΟC, the saint. Those on the right are a corrupt representation of the first four letters of ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟC or *George*. There were no cameos cut by Greek artists in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and, among the forty Georges at Windsor Castle, there is not one with a Greek inscription. If King Charles had owned a Greek George, surely Ashmole would have mentioned so very unusual a circumstance. It may perhaps be conjectured that the engraver was told to reproduce a *St. George* mounted on a prancing horse and slaying a dragon with a sword, and that he went to a Greek medal or icon for a model.

Except for the Greek inscription and the omission of the Garter motto round the image of St. George, Lord Wellesley's cameo is not unlike the Hollar engraving. In each case the horse gallops from right to left: the reins are held in the left hand: the saint is armed with a sword: he is dressed in a helmet and classical tunic, and his cloak is carried out behind by the wind. But the resemblance is only general and there are many variations of detail. If, as seems probable, the engraver did not have a model to copy from, as he certainly did when he was drawing the other insignia, then a close resemblance to the engraving is not important.

Lord Wellesley states that the cameo is the work of Francesco du Pesia. No doubt he has in mind Pier Maria Serbaldi da Pescia, a well-known name as, according to tradition, he carved a stone¹ for a ring for Michelangelo. His dates are c. 1455 to c. 1522. He was master of the Papal Mint and a medal by him representing the Conversion of St. Paul (nos. 866 and 867 in the B.M. Catalogue) bears a slight resemblance in the treatment of the horse to the Wellesley cameo. But competent judges who have seen the cameo agree that it dates from the first half of the seventeenth century and cannot possibly be by Serbaldi da Pescia. All are agreed that it is of very fine quality.

Finally, a few words must be said about the setting. It must be remembered that during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the badge of the Garter was worn all day and every day. The setting therefore soon became battered and damaged, particularly if enamel were used in the design. The important part of the jewel was the cameo, and when the setting became shabby there was no family sentiment or love of the recent past to prevent its being reset. In the case of the Scaffold George, if we are to believe Ashmole, there was much enamel and a setting of table diamonds. With the invention of brilliant cutting in the eighteenth century, table diamonds went out of fashion. It need, therefore, cause us no surprise that by 1788 the cameo had already been reset. If the miniature of Henrietta Maria had still been in place behind the cameo, we may be sure that the Duchess of Albany would have shown it to Sir R. Payne. Moreover, his description of the setting of rubies and diamonds alternately differs completely from Ashmole's.

According to Mr. Forbes, the Countess of Albany took the cameo and its surrounding diamonds off the lid of an ivory box when she sent it to Lord Wellesley. This confirms M. Cheutri's statement that according to the Countess of Albany her husband '*la gardait toujours dans sa tabatière*'. But it is difficult to reconcile this with the description of his wearing it in 1785 (see page 159). At any rate, Lord Wellesley tells us that he reset it in England. Lord Wellesley, with all his love of pomp and splendour, had no respect for antiquity, and any possibility that any part of the original setting had survived disappeared. In the list of Lord Wellesley's Garter jewels it is described as follows: 'A diamond George in circle of twenty-six large brilliants.'

In 1858 the 2nd Duke of Wellington removed the cameo from Lord Wellesley's setting, but the latter was preserved. In 1951 the cameo was replaced in it, and the George now appears as it did when worn by Lord Wellesley from 1812 to 1832.

¹ Now in the Bibliothèque Nationale.



b. The Scaffold George of Charles I according to Hollar



a. Onyx cameo believed to be the Scaffold George of Charles I now the property of the Duke of Wellington (?)

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SOME MEDIEVAL TREATISES ON ENGLISH HERALDRY

By H. STANFORD LONDON, F.S.A.

THE object of this paper is to invite attention to some early treatises on English heraldry in the hope of stimulating interest in that somewhat neglected phase of this study. None of the manuscripts in question has been printed, but first it may not be amiss to recall briefly the half-dozen tractates which have been printed.

Whatever his shortcomings as a king of arms, English heraldry owes Sir Edward Bysshe a debt of gratitude for his publication of Nicholas Upton's treatise *De Studio Militari* and Johannes de Bado Aureo's *Tractatus de Armis*.¹ The *Tractatus* was written about 1394; the *De Studio* some fifty years later, about 1440; but neither was printed until Bysshe's edition appeared in 1654. In the meantime, however, *The Boke of St. Albans*, printed in 1486, had included a section on heraldry which is based in large measure on Upton.² For most of us our knowledge of medieval heraldry books is limited to those three works, and their contents are not such as would tempt one to delve farther into that phase of heraldry. The insistence on such subjects as the meaning and precedence of colours and beasts is to the modern mind sheer nonsense, while the Anglo-Latin affected by Upton and de Bado Aureo is difficult and repellent to all but experienced medievalists.

The next medieval heraldry book to be printed is a metrical treatise in Lowland Scots written in 1494 by a Scottish Pursuivant named Loutfut. I say 'written', for there is no proof that Adam was more than the copyist. Nevertheless it is likely enough that the verses were composed or translated by him, for he says expressly that another tractate, now alas lost, was translated by him from the French. These verses were printed by the Early English Text Society in 1869, but as the bulk of the volume containing them has nothing whatever to do with heraldry they have attracted no attention from armorists; they are not even mentioned in Gatfield's *Guide to Heraldry*. I refer to them again presently.³

No other medieval textbooks were printed for nearly a century, but in 1945 our Fellow, Professor Evan Jones, published *Medieval Heraldry*. This includes five separate and distinct treatises, while the introduction also contains some pertinent remarks about Upton's *De Studio*. And here I should like to say how grateful I am

¹ De Bado Aureo has been englished as John of Guildford, and Professor Evan Jones identifies him with John Trevor, bishop of St. Asaph 1394, died 1410. The question of his identity is, however, outside the scope of this paper and I use the name de Bado Aureo as that under which this tract is best known.

² I say 'based on Upton' because I know of no earlier or fuller treatise resembling the *De Studio*. But De Bado Aureo acknowledges his indebtedness to Francis de Foveis, and Sir Richard Strangways

acknowledges his to his 'doctor', while the writer of the Pakenham tract says expressly that that was collected from the *Tractatus* and other works. In these circumstances it would be no surprise if Upton were found to have taken some earlier treatise as the basis of his work.

³ The E.E.T.S. edition includes some notes by G. E. Adams (later G. E. Cokayne, Clarenceux). These are based on an insufficient knowledge of medieval heraldry books and must be read with caution.

to Professor Jones for his help in connexion with this paper, especially in deciphering, interpreting, and transcribing some of the manuscripts; two in particular are written in an extraordinary jumble of English, French, and Latin.

The first of the five treatises in Professor Jones' book is one in Welsh called *Llyfr Arfau*, the Book of Arms. This is based primarily on the *Tractatus* of de Bado Aureo.

The second is a new edition of the *Tractatus* itself.

The third item I have named the Pakenham tract from the earliest known owner of the manuscript. According to the preamble it was compiled in 1449 from the *Tractatus* and other books. It is a muddled and incompetent production and would be of no importance but that it contains some terms which have not been found in any earlier treatise. (One of these was overlooked by Professor Jones in his efforts to reduce the chaos of the manuscript to some sort of order.)

There is a strong family likeness between Upton and those three treatises, the *Tractatus*, the *Llyfr Arfau*, and the Pakenham tract, and the unprinted Dublin tract belongs to the same group. Professor Jones' fourth item, however, breaks new ground. It is a little English 'Tretis on Armes' whose writer names himself in the preamble 'John'. By an unlucky concatenation of circumstances Professor Jones was led to extend that as 'John Vade'. That suggestion is inadmissible; it was based largely on the belief that a manuscript in the Bodleian Library, Laud Misc. 733, is a copy of the same tract whereas in reality it is merely an English version of de Bado Aureo's *Tractatus*. Owing to the Second World War Professor Jones was unable to inspect that manuscript, but our Fellow, Mr. P. S. Spokes, has recently examined it for me and he confirms that it is the *Tractatus* in English. Indeed the colophon says as much: *EXPLICIT BREVIS TRACTATUS DE ARMIS DECLARANDIS SECUNDUM MAGISTRUM JOHANNEM DE VADE AURIO CUM FRANCISCO DE FOVYS*. It will be noticed that according to that colophon the author's name is neither 'John Dade' as Dallaway said, nor 'John Vade' as Professor Jones was led to believe, but 'Johannes de Vade Aurio', that is de Bado Aureo himself. I must also differ from Professor Jones in regard to the manuscript Harl. 6097 which he saw as a copy of John's 'Tretis'. It is true that the two tracts begin in the same way but the Harley manuscript adds a great deal which is not in John's 'Tretis' and in fact it is an Elizabethan copy of a much longer compilation, the *Heralds' Tract*, which is mentioned below.

Lastly, Professor Jones gave us the *Tractatus de Insigniis et Armis* of Bartholus de Saxo Ferrato. Bartholus was an Italian lawyer who died in the 1350's and his tract has nothing to do with English heraldry except in so far as the uses and customs of heraldry in the fourteenth century were common to the whole of western Europe. Bartholus, however, enjoyed a high reputation in those days and his works and those of Francis de Foveis are quoted as authoritative in nearly all the fifteenth-century treatises known to me. We must therefore be grateful to Professor Jones for reprinting the *De Insigniis* in this handy form. Of Francis's work no copy has yet been identified, but it may well be that one of the many manuscripts catalogued as copies of de Bado Aureo's tract will prove on closer examination to be Francis's lost work. It is an interesting point that although Francis is so often quoted I have

yet to find (apart from the preface to the Pakenham tract) any reference to de Bado Aureo or to any work which might be identified as the *Tractatus*.

Leaving the printed treatises I now turn to some which are not yet in print; I say 'some', for the handful known to me were all found accidentally during the search for and work on early rolls of arms in connexion with the new 'Papworth'. There are certainly others, perhaps many others. Of the unprinted tracts listed in the appendix some were found by Mr. Wagner, some by myself, and one, Patrick's book, was found by Professor Roger Mynors in Antwerp.

Of those to which I now particularly invite attention one, the Dublin tract, belongs to the *Tractatus* group. Its compiler must have drawn on the same sources as Upton and the writer of the Pakenham tract, but in view of the many variations in the order of the sections it is unlikely that he used either of those manuscripts. The other treatises fall into two groups of which I take the Ashmolean tract and Strangways' Book as the eponymous members.

And here it will be well to interject a few words as to the names by which I refer to the tracts. Mr. Wagner pointed out in his *Catalogue of English Medieval Rolls of Arms* that the practice of giving names to rolls began centuries ago and the more one works on them the more one feels the need for distinctive names. So too with the tracts. The need for distinctive names was immediately apparent, but as such names convey nothing to the uninitiated I append hereto (page 182) a list of all the tractates at present known to me. That list serves also as a key to the short references by which the tracts may be cited.

The first of the two groups to which I have just alluded comprises four tracts: the Ashmolean tract, John's 'Tretis on Armes', the Bradfer-Lawrence tract, and Loutfut's poem.

The Ashmolean tract is so named because it is written on the dorse of the Ashmolean Roll. It is quite short, about 1,700 words. It begins with the story that armorial bearings were first used at the siege of Troy and were brought to England by the Trojan Brutus, but the rest is a straightforward account of some tinctures and charges used in armory with a few rules as to their blazoning. I shall not attempt to summarize it, for the greater part is almost word for word the same as John's 'Tretis', and that was printed by Professor Jones in *Medieval Heraldry*. We may, however, notice the statement that if a man who bears a border about his arms impales his wife's coat the border must be omitted along the party line. That is still the rule today and it is interesting to find it stated so explicitly at that date. Among some uncommon terms illustrated in this manuscript we may note *volder*, *delf*, *hewmette*, and *belly*. Of these *volder* is the rarest. Modern textbooks explain and draw voiders as shallow flanches, that is flanches drawn with a curve of large radius, but here the voider has perfectly straight sides, the arms 'sylver ij wydoures gowlys' being drawn as though a red shield was charged with a very broad silver pale (fig. 1). Of the other terms *belly* is a sort of vair in which the panes are bell-shaped (fig. 2), and a *hewmette* is a hamaide, that is a bar with the ends cut off parallel to the edge of the shield (fig. 3d). The *delf* is drawn here as a billet whose longer sides are slightly concave (fig. 3b), but other manuscripts of much the same date draw the delf as a square billet (fig. 4).

As to the date of this tract, both the Ashmolean manuscript and John's 'Tretis' are written in a mid-fifteenth-century hand and that is probably when the tract was composed. I was at one time inclined to think that it was composed but little later than de Bado Aureo's *Tractatus*, say at the end of the fourteenth or beginning of the

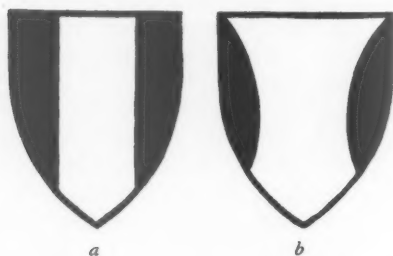


FIG. 1. Voiders. Argent, two voiders gules, (a) after the Ashmolean and other tracts; (b) according to modern textbooks.

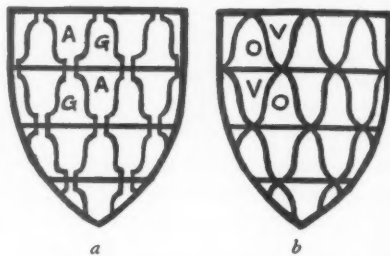


FIG. 2. (a) Belly silver and gules; (b) Vairy gold and vert, after the Heralds' Tract, fo. 5 b.

fifteenth century. I have, however, found nothing which necessitates so early a date. On the contrary the fact that the tract gives the special names for the different coloured roundels is a strong argument against it, for those names are given nowhere else before the middle of the fifteenth century and they did not come into general use until the sixteenth century. It is also to be noted that the cadency stigmata are given in the same order as in modern usage: label, crescent, molet,

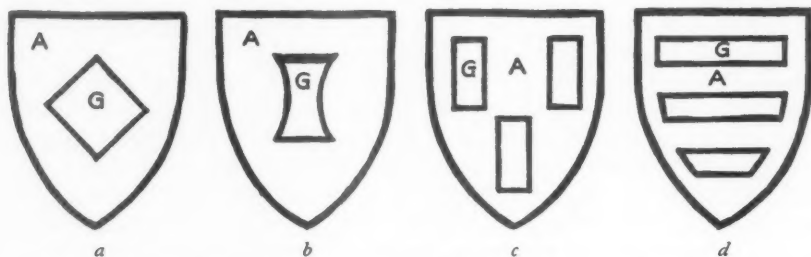


FIG. 3. (a) Silver, a pitte gowlys; (b) Silver, a delfe gowlys; (c) Silver, 3 billetes gowlys; (d) Silver, 3 hewmettes gowlys, after the Ashmolean Tract.

martlet, annulet, and fleur-de-lis. It is true that those and other petty charges were used as differences as early as the 1390's, but they are not mentioned by de Bado Aureo or Upton or even in the Pakenham tract, and I can find no evidence that they were used with their present numerical value before Tudor times. Spelman indeed says that the system was *inventum et propagatum* by John Wrythe (Garter 1478-1504) in the reign of Edward IV (*Aspilogia*, ed. Bysshe, p. 140). It is hardly likely that Wrythe invented the system, but at least the statement shows that to the Elizabethans it was of no great antiquity.

I have included Loutfut's verses in this group because the main portion is a translation, not always accurate, of the Ashmolean or some similar tract. On the other hand, the preliminary section about the invention of coat-armour is more elaborate than in any of the other manuscripts and the poem ends with fifty lines or so glorifying the heralds. I have not seen these elsewhere and they may well be Loutfut's own work; he was himself Kintyre Pursuivant, and he wrote out this and other tracts at the behest of Sir William Cumming, then Marchmont Herald and afterwards Lyon King of Arms.

The Bradfer-Lawrence tract seems to be a unique and original compilation of mid-fifteenth-century date. It is the third of the seven sections which make up the roll or book which Mr. Wagner named after our Treasurer, its present owner. The handwriting is the same as in section II, and that can be dated from internal evidence at 1445 or soon after. A description of the whole book is in Mr. Wagner's *Catalogue*.¹ The tract was probably compiled by a Yorkshireman. The references to Stapleton and Ingham (unfortunately mutilated by the loss of half a leaf) might point either to Yorkshire or Norfolk, but Professor Bernard Colgrave considers that the dialect, though not very distinctive, shows northern and midland influences, so Yorkshire is the more likely. The tract contains many passages which are also in the Ashmolean manuscript, but these are paraphrased and often much condensed, whilst there are many other passages which are not to be found in any version of the Ashmolean tract.

It is worth remarking that this tract, unlike some other manuscripts, is careful to distinguish ermine (white with black spots) and erminees (black with white spots). It calls the one *ermyn* and the other *ermyne*; the final *e* should no doubt be pronounced.

Two other passages peculiar to this tract must also be noticed. The figures illustrating these are in the one case an engrailed border and in the other an inescoccheon. Of the former it is said that if a man bears a scocheon of gules with an engrailed sable border some would blazon it (just as we should now): Gules, a border engrailed sable, but others prefer to say: Sable, a voide of gules engrailed (fig. 5). I do not recall seeing *voide* used in that sense anywhere else.

Of the inescoccheon the tract says that in some arms there is a false scocheon, that is to say a little scocheon within the principal shield (fig. 6). Here the interesting word is 'false'. In thirteenth-century blazon 'false' meant voided. So in Glover's Roll an annulet is called a false roundel; false lozenges and false scocheons occur both in Glover's and in Walford's Roll, and false scocheon in the sense of voided scocheon, the orle of modern textbooks, is used so late as 1298 in the Falkirk Roll.

¹ Mr. Wagner's dating '1446 or soon after' is a slip. The key to the date is the inclusion of the arms of the Duke of Warwick, a title which only existed for 14 months from Henry Beauchamp's creation on 5th April 1445 until his death on 11 June 1446. It follows that the roll cannot have been compiled before April 1445 and it is unlikely that it was com-

piled much after June 1446. The writing of both roll and tract fits that dating. The *D.N.B.* and other works date the duke's creation and death in 1444 and 1445 respectively, but G.E.C. showed in the *Complete Peerage* (*sub tit.* Warwick and Buckingham) that they must be dated 1445 and 1446.

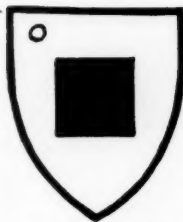


FIG. 4. Gold, a delfe sable, after the Herald's Tract, fo. 5 b.

The term, however, disappeared soon after, and in 1322 the Boroughbridge Roll uses 'faus escuchon' to blazon the silver scocheon in the well-known coat of Mortimer. So too in the fifteenth century, Thomas Jenyns' Book, for instance, calls an inescoccheon a false scocheon, *faus escuchon*, and blazons the Balliol charge, the false scocheon of the thirteenth century, a voided scocheon, *escuchon voide*.¹ It is all very confusing, and the position is not made any clearer when we find that a mid-fifteenth-century armorial, the Dublin Roll, blazons the little shield in the middle of Mortimer's arms *a voide scoychion of silvere*.



FIG. 5. 'Sabyl a voide of goules engrelid, and somme seyn goules a bordure of sabil engrelid' (Bradfer-Lawrence Tract, fo. 23).



FIG. 6. Silver, 'a faws scochon' sable (Bradfer-Lawrence Tract, fo. 32).

My second group comprises five more or less distinct treatises, or perhaps I should rather say five versions of one and the same treatise. These I have named Strangways' Book, Patrick's Book, the Herald's Tract, Povey's Tract, and Kimbey's Tract. There are also some extracts from this in John Wrythe's Garter Book and in Peter Le Neve's Book. These extracts consist of painted shields with accompanying legends and were evidently chosen as illustrating terms of blazon. They are mentioned in the appendix as the Wrythe-Strangways shields and the P.L.N. shields, and at that we can leave them.

Of the five tracts or versions the earliest and the fullest is Strangways' Book, MS. Harl. 2259. This was written in the 1450's by Richard Strangways of the Inner Temple, whom I take to be the eldest of the twenty children of Sir James Strangways of Harsley Castle, Yorkshire, Speaker of the House of Commons in 1461 (fig. 7). Richard is said to have died in 1488, nearly thirty years before his father, and he must have been quite young when he wrote this book. Richard himself calls the book a treatise, 'tractatus nobilis de lege et exposicione armorum'. No doubt he had it in mind to write a treatise, but what he actually produced was a mere notebook, a hotchpotch of heraldic memoranda jotted down haphazard as the points caught his attention. Moreover, the variations in the handwriting and in the

ink show that the notes were made over a period of time and by no means always consecutively. As to the source of the notes, Strangways says that the book was 'ex pluribus libris aggregatum', and that is obviously so. Not only does he begin with a long passage from the Ashmolean tract but references to Bartholus and Francis de Foveis are frequent and many other passages are evident quotations, one at least coming from Justinian's Digest of the Civil Law. Moreover, and this is very pertinent, he refers in a short foreword to his teacher, his 'doctor qui quidem in hac lege suis temporibus floruit sine pare'. He does not name this 'doctor', but the frontispiece of the book is a large painting of the arms of one Thomas Dereham, apparently one of the Norfolk Derehams, for the arms are, Azure, a buck's face gold,

¹ There can be no question as to the meaning of the terms used in Thomas Jenyns' Book, for it is one of the few rolls which are both blazoned and

painted. It dates from the first or second decade of the fifteenth century.

quartering Argent, a cross gules. I have found no one of that name in the Strangways pedigree and I suspect that he was the 'doctor', at a guess a professor of heraldry lecturing near the Inns of Court.¹

Had Strangways' Book stood alone we need not have given this 'doctor' another thought, but there are four other versions. Two of these, Patrick's Book and the Heralds' Tract, date from about 1460, that is only a year or so after Strangways' Book. The other two, Povey's and Kimbey's Tracts, I take to be Elizabethan or thereabouts. There is also an Elizabethan copy of the Heralds' Tract in MS. Harl. 6097. None of these is a complete or exact copy of Strangways' Book and they differ widely both in the choice and order of the items and in the colouring of the illustrative shields, as well as in other minor respects. At the same time it is manifest that all stem from a common source. Convinced as I am that Strangways' Book is Sir Richard's own handiwork and that it is in large measure an original compilation, my first idea was that it—Strangways' Book—was the fount whence the other four manuscripts drew their inspiration; but the more I considered the problem the more I felt that the whim of an editor is too flimsy a reason to explain the many variations. For the same reason I rejected the idea of an undiscovered tractate as source at once of Strangways' Book and of the other tracts. In the end I concluded that the common source of these five tracts can only have been Strangways' 'doctor', and I explained their variations, at least to my own satisfaction, by supposing that they were the work of or based on the notes of different pupils. I can think of no theory which will better explain both the likenesses and the differences between the versions.²

As a collector of the queer terms and turns of blazon with which the fifteenth-century theorists befuddled armory Strangways has no rival. He himself calls these *terminos extranios*; modern readers may translate that 'outlandish jargon'. Many of those terms were probably never used and they have little interest except as curiosities. Such, for instance, are *sabatyned* and *soleux* (or should it be *solenx*?



FIG. 7. Arms of Sir James Strangways. 'He beryth sabyll ij lyonceux passant sylver gowlyd in iij endocerys' (Strangways' Book, fo. 53 b).

¹ Mr. George Squibb suggests this may be Thomas Dereham of Crimphesham, who died 13 Edw. IV (1563 Visn. of Norfolk, ed. Dashwood and Bulwer, i, 227). He had a legal connexion, for his wife was daughter and coheir of Gilbert Haltoft, Baron of the Exchequer.

² In the discussion which followed the reading of this paper it was suggested that undergraduate enthusiasm and the desire of the 'doctor' to make the science of heraldry as mysterious and difficult as possible would go a long way to explain the many extravagances in the treatises. That suggestion is borne out by the contrast between the elaboration, not to say absurdity, of the textbook jargon and the

comparatively simple language of the rolls. The rolls in the main I take to be the work of professional heralds or herald-painters. The treatises, at least in England, were apparently the work of amateurs—Upton and de Bado Aureo (if Professor Jones is right) were clerics and Strangways was a lawyer, as was the Italian Bartholus. In this connexion it must not be forgotten that right down to Elizabethan days and even later heraldry was an important subject in a gentleman's education; a herald might give an occasional lecture, but he could not possibly undertake a regular course of tuition in such institutions as Queen Elizabeth's 'Achademy'.

The manuscript can be read either way). Strangways blazons fig. 8: 'gold sabatynyd wit gowlys iij emerawdes in the feld', and he explains that it is like the shoes worn by bishops at high mass, which, he says, are called 'sabatynys' because they are worn on the sabbath. It will be noticed that Strangways likens the red portion of the shield to the shoe although there is no resemblance whatever that I can see, whereas the gold corner-pieces do vaguely suggest the bulbous-toed shoes which were worn a little later in the century.¹

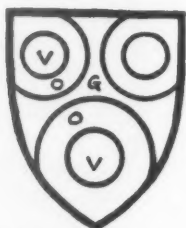


FIG. 8. 'He beryth gold sabatynyd wit gowlys iij emerawdes in the feld. Thys ys leke to a byshopps sho that he weryth on festfull dayys at hys masse and the shoys be callyd sabatynys quia utuntur in sabato.

'Or he beryth gold pontyficalyd wit gowlys etc. They may be callyd pontyfycallys quia servunt pontifici but a pontyfycall ys hys ryng properly.

'Also the plates that arme menys fete ben callyd sabatynys but that ys nat her proper name.' (S. 174 b.)



FIG. 9. 'Chambreleyn. He beryth sylver and sabyll in ij soleux overt. A soleux ys callyd the over leder of a sho and therfor theys armys were geve to the kynges sowter H. the v^{te} the whech dwellyd in Lombard strete, and there be the armys yet.' (S. 70.)

The 'emerawdes' are merely green roundels. One of the whimsies noted by Strangways is that if a coloured roundel is set in a gold field, then it should be blazoned by the appropriate gem, emerald, ruby, sapphire, diamond, or amethyst. So the Povey's tract version of this coat which paints the roundels black blazons them diamonds. It was about this time or a little earlier that Sicily Herald evolved the idea of substituting the names of gems for the tinctures in blazoning—see Mr. Wagner's *Heralds and Heraldry*, p. 106.

Soleux according to Strangways is the 'over-leather', or upper, of a shoe and the coat in fig. 9 was given to Henry V's shoemaker. In Strangways' day it was still to be seen in Lombard Street where the man lived. The coat is blazoned: 'Sylver and sabyll in ij soleux overt.' The name written above it is *Chambreleyn*, but it is very faint and is in a large sprawling hand unlike Strangways' usual script; it does not appear in the other copies.

Some queer terms are also to be found among the lions and crosses. Of the lions in fig. 10, for instance, the one holding up his hand like a schoolboy in class is

¹ That 'sabbatine' meant pertaining to the sabbath is true, but that the episcopal foot-gear was called sabbatine is incredible. Without a doubt Strangways meant *sabaton* (cf. French *sabot*), an

old word for a sort of buskin which was applied to the bulbous-toed shoes familiar from pictures of Henry VIII.

blazoned a 'lion seyaunt in cowche ove bowche & dextre pe comme rampaunt'. The next, with his mouth tight shut, is 'le bowche muett comme rampaunt', while the



FIG. 10. (a) 'Un lion seyaunt in cowche ove bowche & dextre pe comme rampaunt'; (b) 'Un lion le bowche muett comme rampaunt'; (c) 'Un lion paveysed comme rampaunt.' (S. 62.)

last, hiding behind a big shield or pavise, is a 'lion paveysed comme rampaunt'. It will be observed that these lions are not rampant but *comme* rampant. Strangways and his fellows would not allow a lion to be blazoned rampant unless he was represented in the fiercest possible guise as in the arms of Peche, fig. 11. That coat may be blazoned quite simply as: Azure, an ermine lion with tail forked in saltire and a gold crown. Strangways' blazon is: 'asur a lyon rampaunt hermyn cue mascle forche hersle rehersle crownyd langyd & enarmyd gold'. *Hersle* and *rehersle* refer to the tufts of the tail which are turned respectively outwards (*hersle*) and inwards (*rehersle*). According to Strangways these arms were given by Henry V to Sir William Peche for coming to his rescue in France, and the king used to recall the incident by adding at the end of his letters: 'Ho so, love me, love well Pecche.'

Most of Strangways' examples seem to be *ad hoc* inventions; many are imitations of genuine coats and some, like the soleux, were, it appears, actually seen and noted by Strangways in London. Fig. 12 is another which he himself saw. It was in St. Martin's le Grand. Strangways does not name it, but it is the arms of Nottyngham. John de Nottyngham was Treasurer of York Minster from 1415 to 1418 and his arms appear several times in the windows there. In John Brown's book on the York glass the gouts are coloured a pale pink, quite unlike the solid red which he uses for gules; it is therefore all the more interesting to see that Strangways blazons them in umbre. His full blazon is: 'a pale sylver gowte in umbyr appressyd wit a barr hermyn in a feld sabyll'. It would be interesting to know whether the



FIG. 11. 'Wylliam Pecche. He beryth asur a lyon rampaunt hermyn cue mascle forche hersle rehersle crownyd langyd & enarmyd gold. Thys was Pecche that soccoryd Kyng H. the v^{te} in Fraunc by the wych he gat theys armys & was made knyght by the Kyng, & of hym was that proverbe whych the Kyng usyd in every lettyr that he made to any lord & in other places, that ys to say: Ho so, love me, love well Pecche.' (S. 115 b.)

gouts are still visible in the York glass, but the shields were removed for safety during the war and have not yet been replaced.

Unlike the Nottyngham coat figs. 13 and 14 are named, but I should hesitate to describe either as genuine. The one is attributed to Sir John Mandeville: 'Mawndvyle chevaler maximus peregrinator. He beryth a squar frett frette asur & goulens in



FIG. 12. 'He beryth a pale sylver gowte in umbyr appressyd wit a barr hermyn in a feld sabyll. Vide apud ecclesiam Seynt Martin Graund.' (S. 126 b.) [Arms of John de Nottyngham, Treasurer of York Minster 1415-18.]

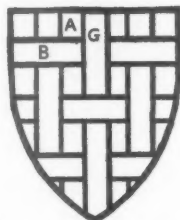


FIG. 13. 'Mawndvyle chevaler maximus peregrinator. He beryth a squar frett frette asur & goulens in sylver.' (S. 90.)



FIG. 14. 'Theys be the armys of the gret Turke that slowe the emperor of Constantyne nobyll a° dñi m°cccc°lvj°. He beryth gold a castell trebyll towryd goullys the port dysplayed of the feld & portcolysed sylver.' (S. 45.)

sylver.' The coat has not been found except in versions of this tract, and in the later versions of the so-called Mandeville Roll in which it has been interpolated from this tract. The square fret, as Strangways calls it, is a very rare charge. Dr. Adam has found it two or three times in French rolls and he tells me that the contemporary French blazon was *grille* or *treillis*. The only square fret which I have found in an English roll is an unnamed shield in Randle Holme's Book: 'Argent, a square fret sable and on a chief sable three mallets silver.' That is probably a foreign coat, for the mallet is commoner in continental than in British armory and Randle Holme's Book contains a good many continental coats.¹

Fig. 14 I also take to be pure fiction: 'Theys be the armys of the Gret Turke that slowe the emperor of Constantyne nobyll a° dñi m°cccc°lvj°. He beryth gold a castell trebyll towryd goullys the port dysplayed of the feld & portcolysed sylver.'

The foregoing extracts have been chosen primarily as curiosities, but there is much in Strangways' Book which is of practical importance for the student of Tudor and pre-Tudor armory. It is, for instance, just as well to know that in the fifteenth century a *gemelle* was a single bar of one-quarter the normal width so that the arms of Spygurnell which are now blazoned, Azure, 3 bars or, then appeared

¹ What might be blazoned a square fret coupé may be seen on a late Elizabethan brass at Noke, Oxon., as arms of Joan Hurst of Kingston upon Thames, who died in 1598, having been married first to William Manwayringe and afterwards to

Henry Bradshaw—see *The Oxford Portfolio of Monumental Brasses*, Series 2, part 3, no. 5 (1952). This is the same coat which the *General Armory* blazons: Argent, six billets azure fretty, 3 in fess and as many in pale.

as: 'asur iij gemellys gold', and what we now describe as 2 gemel bars were then blazoned 'iij gemellys in ij barres' (ff. 184b, 160).

The word *fuselle* is another trap for the uninitiated who not unnaturally assume that it is the same as *fusil*, the elongated lozenge, *fuseau* or *fusew* in Strangways' day. *Fuselle* is a diminutive of the Latin *fusus*, a word which was occasionally used for a fess. According to Strangways a *fuselle* is a fess of half the normal width but the term was used more loosely as a synonym for bar. So in the fifteenth-century

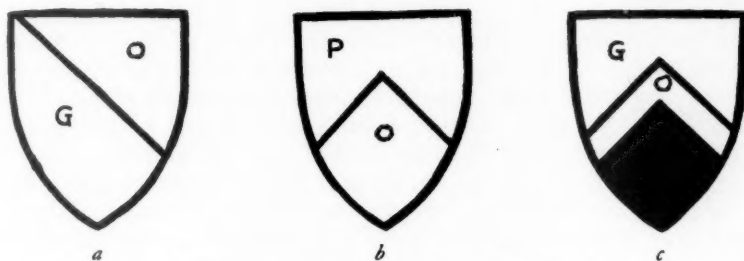


FIG. 15 (a) 'He berithe gowles and owre party per bendy'; (b) 'He berith golde & purple party per cheveron'; (c) 'He berithe sabules & gowles party be a cheveron golde'. (H. 2 b.)

blazoned version of St. George's Roll Stoteville bears 'd'argent a vj fuseaulx de gueulles' (186) and Nychol de St. Martin bears 'd'argent ij fuseaulx de gueulles et v labels d'asur' (246). The thirteenth-century painted version of this roll depicts the one coat as Burely argent and gules and the other as Argent, 2 bars gules and a label azure. This latter example is particularly illuminating, for there can be no doubt but that the coat attributed to St. Martin in the *General Armory*, Argent, 2 fusils in fess gules and a label of 5 points azure, is simply a misrendering of the fifteenth-century blazon.

Another, and in some ways even more important, point concerns the order in which the tinctures are to be named in blazoning. The modern practice is to name the tincture of the field first and if that is particoloured to begin at the chief or on the dexter side as the case may be. Strangways, however, insists that that tincture must be named first which runs down to the base point of the shield, the *conus*, whether it be field or charge. In such blazons as A pale sable in a field silver, or A cross gules in a field of silver, and even in many more elaborate coats there can be no ambiguity, but in the case of some patterned fields knowledge of this rule is capital. In fig. 15, for example, the first shield is blazoned Gules and or party per bend; a modern herald would naturally paint the shield with the gules in chief but Strangways puts it in base. Similarly the second shield is blazoned Gold and purple party per cheveron, but it is painted with the purple in chief. So also in Sable and gules parted by a cheveron gold, the red is in chief and the black in base. Another example of this is the coat in which William the Conqueror is said to have invaded England. Strangways, who mentions this several times, blazons it 'sylver and asur barryd in vj', but he paints it with the blue stripes above the white (e.g. fo. 95b).

Actually there seems to have been some uncertainty about the coat (was that due to ignorance of this trick of blazon?), for in a picture of William stepping ashore before the Battle of Hastings he wears a surcoat with fourteen stripes instead of the six specified by Strangways and the white bars are on top. That painting serves as frontispiece to a series of pictures of the kings of England which was painted about 1445 for the then Clarenceux King of Arms, Roger Legh (MS. Harl. 4205, fo. 1b). This point does not seem to have received any attention hitherto and yet the rule must have been invented in the fourteenth century, for Johannes de Bado Aureo attributes it to Francis de Foveis and John wrote about 1394. Moreover, the rule received at least a measure of acceptance in the fifteenth century. Not only is it recited in the Welsh *Llyfr Arfau* and in the Pakenham and Dublin tractates but it is the only way to explain many apparent discrepancies between blazon and painting in Thomas Jenyns' Book and between the thirteenth-century painted and fifteenth-century blazoned versions of St. George's Roll. In this connexion it is, I think, worth recalling that in describing the arms of Dabrichécourt Froissart counts the three hamaides from the bottom upwards: 'sur l'ermine iij hamedes de gueules, sur la premiere hamede une coquille d'or, sur la seconde deux coquilles d'or et sur le tierce hamede trois coquilles d'or'. The idea of counting from the bottom upwards also appears in France and that so early as 1254, for in the Bigot roll a certain Arnoust de Holain bears 'un escu onde d'or et de geules a ij faisses d'argent encastelees desox et deseure' (no. 83), and Jehan Gravetiax bears 'l'escu d'ermine a une faisse noire a ij listiax noirs, j desox et l'autre deseure' (no. 100). So, too, in the fifteenth-century copies of the thirteenth-century *Armorial du heraut Vermandois* one finds such blazons as 'Burelé d'argent et de gueules a iij papegaux de sinoble j dessoubs et ij desseure' (no. 396), 'd'argent a ij faisses castelees desouls et desseure' (353), and even 'de gueules a ung homme arme de pié en cappe' (877). It may be that those and other similar blazons are due to the fifteenth-century copyist, but in the light of the above items from the Bigot roll I am inclined to think that they are survivals from the lost thirteenth-century original.

So far I have spoken of nothing but armory, and indeed the other versions contain little else, but Strangways was a member of the Inner Temple, no doubt a student there, and he was no less interested in the current theories of gentility, how acquired, how lost, and so forth. The basic idea in his book is that a gentleman is one who wears coat-armour of right; in other words, no arms, no gentleman. There is of course much more to it than that, and the book would repay study for the light which it throws on the mentality of the age.

In regard to the acquisition of arms, Strangways draws a clear distinction between arms and marks 'such as merchants use'. Anyone, he says, may take a mark, but no one may take arms without the intervention of a competent authority, that is either the prince or a herald or pursuivant. On the practical side some held that a mark must not have any metal in it whereas arms must include one of the metals, silver or gold. So a red shield painted with a black lion or a blue cross was a mark, but the same shield with either field or charge changed to silver or gold would be arms. Strangways himself does not seem to have accepted that view, for three different shields which he dismisses as marks and not arms are painted either black

and white or blue and white. Fig. 16, for instance, is painted blue with white charges. Why Strangways rejected that as arms I cannot say; his explanation explains nothing. In any case it was certainly used as arms by a family named Churchman in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the charges being sable in a silver field or vice versa.¹

Partaking alike of armory and of the more legal matter of gentility is the question of differencing, and on that too Strangways has much to say. In his opening passage he lists the cadency stigmata to which I alluded in connexion with the Ashmolean tract, but other notes show that that was only one system of several. In one place, for instance, he outlines a scheme of borders, plain for the eldest son, engrailed for the second, gobony for the third, and so on. In another note he suggests the use of different labels, varying not only the number of pendants but also the colour and pattern.

In regard to bastards he says in one of his earlier notes that every bastard shall bear his father's arms with a baston or bastron (he uses both forms). There he explains the baston as a narrow sinister bend, but later he says that it may be either dexter or sinister and that a bastard may either bear his father's arms with a dexter baston or his mother's with a sinister. I have not seen that last notion elsewhere, but the other two bastardy marks which Strangways records are familiar enough. If, he says in one place, a bastard wears his mother's arms the appropriate difference is a surcoat. So Gawain of the Round Table, who was a bastard begot of a great lady, bore her arms, Vert, a fess gold, with an ermine surcoat over all (fig. 17).² If, on the other hand, a bastard wishes to bear his father's arms he may set these in a bend and make the field of another colour; in that case (this is a nice point which has eluded the modern manuals) the field must be blazoned last, for it is no part of the arms but a special sign. The example which Strangways gives, fig. 18,

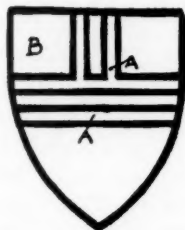


FIG. 16. 'Thys ys non armys but a marke of a marchaunt for yt ys to no purpos as yt apperyth be all the lawe & rewles of armys' (S. 119 b). [This coat with the field sable was borne by Churchman in the 16th century.]

¹ Some months after this paper was read the revival of the *Ancestor*-al heresy about the so-called prescriptive right to arms and the appearance of the first part of our Fellow Mr. G. D. Squibb's essay on 'The law of arms' (*The Coat of Arms*, July 1953) moved me to re-examine the relevant passages in Strangways' Book. The following general conclusions may be drawn:

(a) The law of arms, *lex armorum*, was recognized as a part of English law and was a familiar branch of legal studies.

(b) Gentility flowed from and depended on the right to arms; no one, not even a knight or esquire, was gentle unless he was armigerous.

(c) The right to arms was acquired (1) by inheritance from an armigerous forbear, or (2) by

marriage to an armigerous woman, or (3) by grant from a prince or herald, or (4) by conquest especially in trials for treason.

(d) The assumption of *arms* by a man's own motion was not recognized, but anyone might take a *mark*.

² In connexion with this coat Mr. Michael MacLagan opined that many of the coats invented for the Knights of the Round Table were deliberately devised to display out-of-the-way terms and charges. May that not also be true of some coats attributed to strange personages like the Great Turk mentioned above and some of the outlandish potentates who appear at the end of Randle Holme's Book?

is blazoned, 'a bend sylver wit a cheveron gowlys betwyx iij pellettes in a feld gold'. The arms on the bend are those of Borefeld, but whether they were ever thus bastardized I cannot say.

There are many other points on which I should have liked to touch, but I hope I have said enough to show that these early treatises contain much of value and



FIG. 17. 'Thys Gawyn was a knyght of the rownde tabyll wit Kyng Arthur & he was a bastard begot of a gret lady & her armys was vert a barr gold & because he was a bastard he bar her armys wit this surcot as the lawe of armys ys' (S. 73).

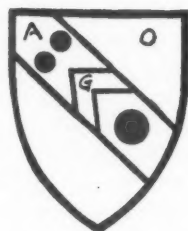


FIG. 18. 'A bend sylver wit a cheveron gowlys betwyx iij pellettes in a feld gold. A bastard may ber hys fadres armys in a bend & make the feld of an other color as her. Thou shalt nat begynne to blase at the feld her for yt ys no part of the armys but a specyall sygne as ys a bastron.' (S. 41.) [The arms on the bend are those of Borefeld.]

much of interest, not to mention some amusing touches. Strangways' Book in particular is full of good things, and I can only trust that someone, perhaps Professor Jones, will find the leisure and the means to publish it in full with a suitable commentary.

APPENDIX

List of some Medieval Treatises on English Heraldry

Note. The initials in heavy type are the short references by which the items may be cited.

1. Bartholus de Saxo Ferrato, *De Insigniis et Armis*. Published posthumously c. 1358. Printed by Bysshe in his notes to no. 5, pp. 4-17, and by E. J. Jones in *Medieval Heraldry*, pp. 224-52. Not English but often quoted in English treatises. **B**
2. Franciscus de Foveis. Fourteenth century. His teachings incorporated in no. 3 and other works. No copy of his treatise yet identified.
3. *Tractatus de Armis*. c. 1394. By 'Johannes de Bado Aureo' (alias 'John of Guildford'). Edited by Bysshe with no. 5 and by Jones, *op. cit.*, pp. 95-143. Bodleian MS. Laud Misc. 733, c. 1500, is an English version. **BA**
Professor Jones considers both this and no. 4 to be by John Trevor, bishop of St. Asaph 1394, ob. 1410.
4. *Llyfr Arfau* (The Book of Arms). A Welsh treatise based primarily on no. 3. Edited with English translation by E. J. Jones in *Medieval Heraldry*, 1943, pp. 2-93. **LL**
5. Nicholas Upton, *De Studio Militari*. c. 1440. Edited by Edward Bysshe, 1654, together with nos. 3 and 20. **U**

6. The Pakenham Tract. Add. MS. 28791, ff. 5-38. *Medieval Heraldry*, pp. 144-212. Compiled in 1449 from no. 3 and other sources. PM
7. The Dublin Tract. MS. 7 in the Genealogical Office, Dublin, ff. 7-27b (ff. 1-6 missing). Mid or late fifteenth century. May be an abbreviation of no. 5 with additions from no. 6 and elsewhere and many variations of order. DB
8. The Ashmolean Tract. Bodleian MS. Ashmole Rolls 4 (formerly MS. Ashm. 15A). Mid fifteenth century. A
9. John's Tretis on Armes. *Medieval Heraldry*, pp. 213-20. Mid fifteenth century. Shortened version of no. 8. JN
10. The Bradfer-Lawrence Tract. 1445 or soon after. Part III of Bradfer-Lawrence's Roll (see *C.E.M.R.A.*, p. 88). Probably written by a Yorkshireman. In part an abbreviation of no. 8. BR
11. Strangways' Book. c. 1454. Brit. Mus. MS. Harl. 2259. A collection of heraldic memoranda by Richard Strangways of the Inner Temple. S.
12. The Herald's Tract. MS. in the College of Arms. Lettered on the spine 'Treatise on Heraldry temp. Hen. IV', but not earlier than c. 1460. Has much in common with no. 11. MS. Harl. 6097 is an Elizabethan copy with minor variations. H.
13. Patrick's Book. *Post* 1461. MS. C.B., 5. 6 in the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp. Closely related to if not copied from no. 11. P.
14. The Wrythe-Strangways shields. c. 1480. Fifty-three shields in Wrythe's Garter Book, pp. 81, 164-9 (*C.E.M.R.A.*, pp. 122, 123). Copied from a source nearly related to no. 11. WS.
15. The P.L.N. Shields. c. 1480-1500. Brit. Mus. MS. Harl. 6163, ff. 136-41b (*C.E.M.R.A.*, p. 109, *sub tit.* 'Peter Le Neve's Book'). Extracts from no. 11 or a similar source. PN.
16. *The Boke of St. Albans*. Printed 1486. Facsimile reprints 1810 and 1901. See also appendix to Dallaway's *Inquiries*, 1793. Apparently condensed from no. 5. SA.
17. Loutfut's poem. Metrical treatise in Lowland Scots written in 1494 by Adam Loutfut, Kintyre Pursuivant. Printed 1869 in *Queene Elizabeth's Achademy and other pieces*, Early English Text Society, Extra Series, no. 8. Translated from an English source akin to no. 8. LK.
18. Povey's Tract. Mid sixteenth century. College of Arms MS. B. 19. An englished version of no. 11 or similar collection. PO.
19. Kimbey's Tract. MS. Harl. 3526, art. 4. Late Elizabethan or early Jacobean compilation based on no. 11 or the like. K.
20. *Aspilogia* by Sir Henry Spelman (1564?-1641). Said to have been written when he was very young. Not medieval, but printed by Bysshe with no. 5. SP.

THE PRICE FAMILY OF GLASS-PAINTERS

By JOHN A. KNOWLES, F.S.A.

THE work of the Price family, William known as 'the elder', Joshua, and William the younger, is of considerable interest in the history of glass-painting in England, not merely because they lived during a period in which, for lack of patronage, glass-painters were few,¹ but from the degree of accomplishment, both artistic and technical, shown in their work.

To them is due the credit for the reintroduction of the use of coloured glasses and making windows in the medieval manner, instead of painting on white glass in brown and stain only, touched up here and there with some dull and lifeless enamels, as glass-painters unavoidably had to do previously.²

No coloured glass had been available since 1633, when Louis XIII, in revenge for the gallant resistance which Charles IV, Duke of Lorraine, had offered to his armies, decreed that the whole of Lorraine, where the coloured glass used in church windows had been made for centuries, should be laid waste. The glass-works were levelled to the ground, and the glass-workers fled no one knew where.³ Glass-painters had perforce to turn to the use of coloured enamels applied to the surface of white glass, as in painting on pottery. As a substitute for ruby, they obtained a fair imitation by staining a glass called 'kelp' repeatedly with silver stain, so as to obtain first a yellow, next an orange, and finally a red. Evelyn in his Diary tells us that at a meeting of the Royal Society in 1682, 'There was a discourse of ye tingeing of glass, especially with red, and ye difficulty of finding any red colour effectual to penetrate glass, among ye glass-painters; that ye most diaphonous, as blue, yellow, &c., did not enter into the substance of what was ordinarily painted, more than very shallow, unless incorporated in the mettall itselfe, other reds and whites not at all beyond ye superficies.'⁴ But in 1705 we find William and Joshua Price advertising as follows:

Whereas the ancient Art of Painting and Staining Glass has been much discouraged by reason of an Opinion generally received, That the *Red Colour* (not made in *Europe* for many years) is totally lost; These are to give Notice That the said *Red* and all other colours are made to as great a degree of Curiosity and Fineness as in former ages by *William* and *Joshua Price*

¹ There appear to have been about four master glass-painters at that period and the same number of journeymen. The former included Henry Bray, who in 1700 succeeded William Price the elder as Master of the Worshipful Company of Glaziers; Richard Sutton, who in 1683 was doing a window for Oxford (*Walpole Soc.*, vol. x, p. 65), and Mr. Hall (or Halsey), a glass-painter in Fetter Lane, who painted the Royal Arms (William of Orange) for the west window of Lincoln's Inn Chapel. As regards journeymen, Francis Place the engraver, writing to Henry Gyles the glass-painter of York in 1683,

stated: 'I made Inquiry at Mr. Price's about glass-painters he tells me there is 4 In Towne but not worke enough to Employ one, if he did nothing Else' (*ibid.*).

² Henry Gyles, the York glass-painter (1645-1709), a contemporary of Wm. Price the elder, employed no 'flushed' or 'pot-metal' coloured glasses in his windows.

³ J. A. Knowles, 'The Transition from the Mosaic to the Enamel System of painting on Glass', *Antiq. Journ.*, vol. vi, no. 1 (1926), pp. 26-35.

⁴ Evelyn's *Memoirs*, vol. iii, p. 65, 8vo, ed.

Glasiers and Glass-painters near *Hatton Garden* in Holborn, *London* where Gentlemen may have Church History, Coats of Arms &c Painted upon Glass in what colours they please to as great Perfection as ever, and draws Sun-dials on Glass, Wood, or Stone &c and cuts Crown Glass with all sorts of ordinary Glass, and performs all kinds of Glazing work.¹

A similar advertisement, slightly differently worded, and without Joshua's name, had appeared five years previously in the *Gazette* for 15th July 1700.²

The chronology of both the lives and the works of the Price family is somewhat obscure. Only two definite dates of births and deaths are known. The date of the birth of the William Price 'the elder' is uncertain. It is probable he came of a family of glass-painters and glaziers. In the Great Hall of St. Bartholomew's Hospital is a window depicting Henry VIII giving a charter to Lord Mayor Gresham. This event occurred in 1544. Scratched with diamonds are many glaziers' names and dates from 1652 to 1881, the earliest being that of John Price 1652, who might have been the father of William Price the glass-painter.

In 1685 his name appears in the Charter of the Worshipful Company of Glaziers as one of the first Assistants.³ He was Upper Warden in 1697, and Master of the Company in 1699,⁴ at which time, according to the above reckoning, he would be about fifty-two—a fairly youthful age for the master of a city company, but seeing that the company would be only a small one and comparatively poor,⁵ this is perhaps understandable. In 1683, at which time he would be probably not less than forty-six, he was reported to be already a rich man.⁶

That most unreliable writer Dallaway in his *Observations on English Architecture* (p. 281) says that 'William Price the elder was his [Henry Gyles of York] most able scholar and successor', and this statement has been copied into most of the books of reference. But there is no authority for this, and there is strong evidence against it. Price was a contemporary of Gyles rather than a successor. In 1699, in which year Price became Master of the London Company of Glaziers, Gyles was fifty-four, so that they would be about the same age. Moreover, it would appear from the letters of Gyles's friends in London that the two were personally unknown to one another.

Some few particulars of William Price and of the state of the art in London at the end of the seventeenth century are to be gleaned from contemporary letters.

James Smith, writing from London to his friend Henry Gyles the glass-painter of York (1645-1709) on 10th August 1682⁷ stated: 'herre is about halfe a dos Glass painters in towne. I have not time to discourse them as yet.'

In the following year Francis Place the engraver and draughtsman, another friend of the York glass-painter, in a letter dated 'London July ye 12th 1683'⁸ wrote:

I made Inquiry at *Mr. Price's* about *glass-painters* he tells me there is 4 IN Towne but not

¹ *London Gazette*, 14th June 1705.

² *Burney Collection* 124 (a), vol. iii, 1700.

³ Ashdown, *Hist. of Worshipful Company of Glaziers*, p. 125.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 58.

⁵ They did not rebuild their hall, probably through lack of funds, after the fire of 1666.

⁶ 'Francis Place, Engraver and Draughtsman', by Henry M. Hake, *Walpole Soc.*, vol. x, p. 65.

⁷ Stowe MS. 746, f. 59, printed in *Walpole Soc.*, vol. xi (1923), p. 64.

⁸ Stowe MS. 746, f. 70, printed in *Walpole Soc.*, vol. x (1922), p. 64.

worke enough to Imploy one, if he did nothing Else Mr. Sutton¹ he sayeth hath a great deele of Oxford window don but the reason why he fixt it not up he knows not, he (told) me (their) prises here is 12 or 14 p^{er} foote, For greate work and for small peeces according (as) they can agree, I perceave his chiefe traid is glasing by wc. I belejve he gets a greate deele of Mony for his is belejved Rich.²

William Price the elder painted the east window of Christ Church, Oxford, in 1696 representing the *Nativity* from cartoons by Sir James Thornhill who was then but twenty years of age. For this window Price is said to have received £200. There is a description of it in a set of Latin verses by Peter Foulkes in *Musae Aug.* 11. 45. In recent times the window was removed. This is to be regretted as it formed a distinct link in the continuity of English glass-painting, connecting the work of Henry Gyles of York, who died in 1709, with Price's later work and that of his successors, which was handed down through Peckitt (d. 1795) to the present day.

In 1702 Price painted the east window of Merton College containing subjects representing the principal events in the Life of our Lord, the *Nativity*, *Baptism*, and *Last Supper* and the *Crucifixion*, *Resurrection*, and *Ascension*. It cost £260.³ The money was in part the bequest of Alexander Fisher, sometime senior fellow of the college, but it was generously supplemented by his executor Dr. Lydall as recorded in the inscription as follows:

*W. Price pinxit, Expensis Mri Alexandri Fisher hujus collii quondam socii A° Dmi MDCCII,
Custode Ricardo Lydall. M.D.⁴*

It should be noted that this window is signed by William alone, and not with the joint names of himself and his brother. Each of the subjects was surrounded by a gold frame. This feature aroused much hostile criticism from Dallaway and later writers. Winston considered the window 'a weak performance as regards colour, enamels being used almost to the exclusion of coloured glass.'⁵ It was removed some twenty years ago, and is said to be now stored away in boxes.

Joshua Price is said to have been the brother of the elder William. This statement, which has been copied into the *D.N.B.* and other works, whilst probably correct, rests on no firmer foundation than a quotation from Dallaway, who published his *Observations in English Architecture* in 1806. Walpole, writing some time previously to 1767, in which year he published his *Anecdotes*, evidently knew the younger William Price personally. He does not mention Joshua at all, but as he had been dead nearly forty years, this is perhaps not surprising. Walpole also states, no doubt correctly, that William the younger was a son of the elder William,⁶

¹ Richard Sutton evidently son of Baptista Sutton who executed the east window of St. Leonard Shoreditch in 1634, and most probably the east window of the chapel of Peterhouse College Chapel, Cambridge, erected in 1632, as these two are very similar in style and workmanship. A Lewys Sutton, who was probably his grandfather, was Upper Warden of the Worshipful Company of Glaziers in 1525. (Ashdown, *Hist. Worshipful Company of Glaziers*, p. 57.)

² *loc. cit.*

³ Pointer's Oxon. Acad. MS. Bod. Lib.

⁴ Wood's *Colleges and Halls*, ed. by Gutch (1786), p. 18.

⁵ *Hints on Glass Painting*, 1867, p. 237.

⁶ 'Window in Merton Chapel, William Price (he died in 1722) 1700. Windows at Queen's New College, and Maudlin, by William Price the son, now living.' Walpole's *Anecdotes*, Bohn's ed., 1872, p. 120 (first edition 1761). The above statement is



Witley, Worcs. Visitation and Nativity. Signed and dated 'J. Price 1719'



Witley, Worcs. Epiphany and Baptism. Signed and dated 'J. Price 1719'

and a writer in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for April 1817 who signed himself E. M. S. spoke of 'William Price, his brother Joshua, and his son William'.¹ But this article is little more than a paraphrase of part of the chapter dealing with stained glass in Dallaway.

The elder William belonged to an earlier generation than the other two. The younger William died in 1765 aged sixty-two, when his mother was still alive. She would be then about eighty years of age, and have been born about 1685, and therefore about eighteen years of age when her son William was born. The elder William must have been considerably senior to his wife, and this is to some extent corroborated by the fact that she married again.

In July 1700 the elder William inserted an advertisement in the *London Gazette* calling attention to his work as a glass-painter. But there is no mention of Joshua. However, his name appears as a joint partner in a similarly worded notice which appeared five years later. He had presumably in the meantime attained his majority and joined his brother as a partner in the business. If then he was twenty-two years of age in 1705 he would have been born in 1682.

According to Walpole, William Price the elder died in 1722. But it is more likely that it was his brother Joshua who died in that year. The entry in Vertue's Note-book² merely reads: '1722. Oct. dyd Mr Price of Holborn, glass-painter' and Walpole may have identified this with William instead of Joshua, of whom he makes no mention whatsoever. William the elder probably died some time between 1705 (the date of the advertisement previously mentioned) and 1719 the date of eight of the windows at Witley Church, Worcs., which are signed by Joshua alone. It was evidently he who died in 1722 for the last two of his windows at Witley are dated 1721, after which year no further work by him is known.

The most important group of windows by Joshua Price is now in Witley church, Worcestershire, which was built by Lord Folèy to receive them about 1747 (pls. xx, xxi). They were purchased at the sale on the demolition of the Duke of Chandos's seat at Cannons, Edgware, Middlesex, for the private chapel of which they had been painted by Price in 1719 and 1721 from cartoons which (with two exceptions) were specially designed by Sebastiano Ricci.³

There are ten windows: nine single lights with round-arched heads, about 12 feet high by 5 feet wide, three of which are on each side of the nave, one in the north transept (the corresponding space in the south being covered with a large monument), and two, rather shorter than the others, in the west wall. The east window is a 'Venetian' one with an arched central light between two rectangular ones. All are signed 'J. Price' and dated 1719 except two, *The Supper at Emmaus* and the *Worship of the Golden Calf*, which are dated 1721. These have been designed, not by Ricci, but by another and inferior hand.

not altogether correct. The window at Queen's is by Joshua Price and not William the younger.

¹ 'Progress etc., of Stained Glass in England.'

² Printed in *Walpole Soc.*, vol. ii, p. 47.

³ 1659-1734. The hall of Burlington House and some of the ceilings were painted by him. He also painted the altar-piece of the chapel of Chelsea College.

Joshua Price executed the north rose window (1721) of Westminster Abbey. A contemporary writer stated that 'the great window of thirty-two foot square is likewise glazed with glass curiously painted after the antique fashion by Mr. Price who is reckon'd the only artist in England capable of doing it: so that that ornamental art is not so entirely lost as some have alleg'd'.¹

The subsequent history of this window, which was designed by Sir James Thornhill and contained 'Sixteen large Figures 7 ft. high of the Apostles and Evangelists . . . also the Glory in the Middle and Cherubim Heads etc.',² is interesting. Forty-five years later these cartoons had passed into the possession of William Peckitt (1731-95), the glass-painter of York, who had bought them from the executrix of the younger William Price, and Peckitt again used them for the figures in the west window of Exeter Cathedral (1766), removed in 1904.³

The stone tracery of the window was designed by Sir Christopher Wren. But towards the end of the nineteenth century it had fallen into a dilapidated condition and new window tracery was designed by Sir Gilbert Scott and completed by his successor in the Surveyorship of the Abbey, Mr. J. L. Pearson. To quote the Rev. Jocelyn Perkins:⁴ 'A perfect storm of criticism arose when their work was revealed to the public gaze. It was seen that Wren's tracery whatever its merits or demerits, had disappeared, and had been replaced by modern gothic work, entailing the mutilation of Joshua Price's remarkable glass.'

In the words of a writer in the *Builder*: 'the figures of the Apostles and Evangelists which figured so well in the old lights have actually been shortened by the feet to make them go into the shorter lights. Such a sheer piece of bungling as this seems almost incredible. We can only conclude that Mr. Pearson intended to do away with the old glass and have new designed for the new window and after the tracery was executed he was compelled to reinstate the old glass. That some such explanation as this is at the bottom of the matter we must charitably hope, but it is an absurd business at the best.'

Nor was this the worst. Four panels of the glass containing the date 1721 also disappeared, and the entire outer surface of the window was smeared with a solution of some kind, with the object, so it has been stated, of imparting a thirteenth-century effect to this early Georgian glass. This was subsequently removed.

Another work by Joshua Price, the east window of St. Andrew's church, Holborn, represented the *Last Supper* and the *Ascension*, and was executed in 1718 (pl. xxii, b). Unfortunately the window was not removed for safety during the Second World War, and it was totally destroyed in the Blitz. Winston thought very highly of it. Joshua, he wrote, 'has really rivalled the rich colouring of the Van Linges. In this window coloured glass is abundantly used, together with enamels in the draperies of the figures. The painting is deficient in brilliancy, and some of the shadows are nearly opaque, yet these defects may almost be overlooked in the excellency of its composition, and in its immense superiority as a glass-painting

¹ 'An Abbey Tragedy. Fortunes of the North Rose Window', by the Rev. Jocelyn Perkins, *The Times*, 18th Sept. 1935.

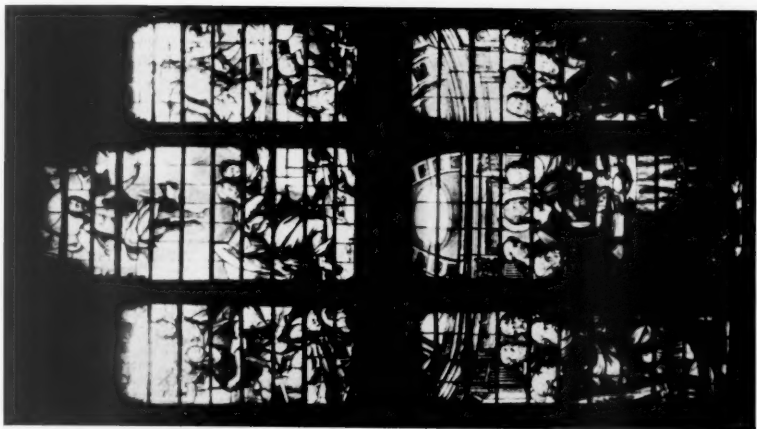
² *Ibid.*

³ Correspondence between the Warden of New College, Oxford, and the Dean of Exeter, printed in Woodforde, *The Stained Glass of New College, Oxford*, pp. 22-36.

⁴ *Ibid.*



a. Kirkleatham Hospital, nr. Redcar, Yorks. Epiphany and portraits of Sir William Turner, Lord Mayor of London and his brother John, Sergeant-at-Law



b. East Window, St. Andrew's, Holborn. Last Supper and Ascension. (Destroyed in an air raid during the Second World War.)

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over all other works executed between the commencement of the eighteenth century and the revival of the Mosaic system.¹

In the chapel of Kirkleatham Hospital, two miles from Redcar, in Yorkshire, is a very fine window which has only recently been identified as the work of one of the Prices, viz. either Joshua or the younger William (pl. xxii, *a*). The window is a so-called 'Venetian' one. The centre light represents the *Epiphany*, whilst on either side are full-length portraits, about life-size, of Sir William Turner and his brother John, Sergeant-at-Law. Sir William was Lord Mayor of London after the Fire of 1666. 'Under his just and wise administration', wrote Bishop Burnet, 'the rebuilding of the city advanced so fast, that he would have been chosen Lord Mayor for the ensuing year, but he declined.' Sir William was a close personal friend of Sir Christopher Wren, and though the name of the designer of the chapel is unknown, it is most probable that Wren was the architect. The building, with its carved stalls, gilded candelabra, and other fittings, has all the opulence characteristic of design and workmanship in the metropolis rather than of provincial craftsmanship. The draughtsmanship of the window is of a high order, and the technique of the glass-painting most accomplished. The coloured glasses are light, bright, and beautifully shaded, especially the ruby of the robe of the Sergeant at Law, and the enamels clear and transparent, whereas in Price's window in St. Andrew's, Holborn, the colours were heavy and the painting muddy. For these reasons the writer is inclined to the opinion that the Kirkleatham window is not the original glass but a modern copy, probably by Capronnier of Brussels. The imitative painting of accessories such as the leather bindings of the books in the background to the portrait of the Sergeant is exactly in his style. But that the original glass was executed by Price there can be no doubt, for the *Epiphany* subject has been painted from the cartoon drawn by Ricci for Price's window signed and dated 1719 which is one of the series of ten now in the chapel at Witley, Worcestershire.

Turning to William Price the younger, we are on firmer ground. As previously stated, he was born in 1703 and died a bachelor at his house in Great Kirby Street, Hatton Garden, on 16th July 1765, aged sixty-two, 'possessed of a large fortune'.² Walpole, writing eight years or more before Price's death, described him as an artist 'whose colours are fine, whose drawing good, and whose taste in ornaments and mosaic (i.e. glass executed in the mosaic manner of the middle ages as opposed to windows painted in coloured enamels) is far superior to any of his predecessors, is equal to the antique, to the good Italian masters, and only surpassed by his own singular modesty'.³

Walpole, in a note on 'William Price the son, now living' (1757), after stating that he died in 1765 wrote: 'Price, as I have said, was the only painter in that style (i.e. on glass) for many years in England.'⁴ Walpole was in a position to know. According to Dallaway,⁵ he had employed Price to fit up his collection of ancient stained glass at Strawberry Hill. It was not until 1761-2, less than three

¹ *Hints on Glass Painting*, 1867, p. 237.

² *Lloyd's Evening Post*, vol. xvii, no. 1251, 15th-17th July 1765.

³ Walpole's *Anecdotes* (Bohn's ed., 1872), p. 120.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 120 note.

⁵ *Observation on English Architecture*, p. 282.

years before the death of Price, that William Peckitt of York was called in to carry on the work, in which year he had been but nine years in business.¹

Gray the poet, in a letter dated 1761, says that Price had 'left off his business' in London 'and retired to Wales'. This would be presumably to look after his mining properties in Flintshire. He, however, kept on his house in Great Kirby Street, Hatton Garden, as he died there in 1765. William Price made his will on the 4th August 1764. This document bears out the statement in the obituary notice that he died 'possessed of a large fortune'. He owned $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. stock, and was in partnership with seven others in some mines in Flintshire, Wales. To one of these, Philip Allwood, he left £50 for settling up his affairs in Flintshire, and to Allwood's daughter Jane £100 and all his mines, or shares in mines, in the same county. To his servant-maid Ann Alliston £100 and the dividends on £400 stock for life. To his servant-maid Elizabeth Adams £20 and to his mother's maid Ann Bunther £10. To his mother, Mrs. Elizabeth George, widow, all the profit of his mines for six months subsequent to his death, and he made her residuary legatee and sole executrix of his will.² Other relations mentioned are an aunt Jane Camp, an uncle Richard Kirby, and cousins Thomas Kirby, William Gough, and his wife formerly Elizabeth Kirby, and Ann Price. As Price lived in Great Kirby Street, Hatton Garden, there may have been some connexion between the name of the street and the Kirby family.

Price evidently had several assistants. One of these was 'Nathaniel Stevens, Citizen and Glazier' whom he mentions in his will as having been 'formerly my servant' and to whom he left a sum of £20. Another, James Pearson, Walpole mentions in 1759 as having been Price's 'scholar and successor', and whom he employed for a time, but found him 'idle and dissolute'.³ Another was probably 'John Wright who, in the year 1755, lodged at the Angel in Fleet Market, and was employed by a person in that neighbourhood to paint upon glass.'⁴ Moreover, there are very strong grounds for the suspicion that William Peckitt of York (1731-95) had learnt his business from Price.

William Price the younger carried out several restorations of earlier glass which, in view of the period in which they were executed, and the coloured glasses then available, may be said, with certain reservations, to be truly remarkable. The principal of these was the windows on the south side of the chapel of New College, Oxford. Winston made a detailed examination of this glass.⁵ After quoting a note by Gutch in his edition of Antony Wood's *Colleges and Halls*⁶ to the effect that 'the windows on the south side of the chapel were originally Flemish, done "as it is reported, from designs given by some scholars of Rubens, and were purchased by the Society of Will Price, who repaired them in 1740".'

This [wrote Winston] does not appear to be altogether correct. A great many of the figures in the lower lights are, it is true, the works of foreign artists, and, in the absence of any certain

¹ William Peckitt, born 1731, first work executed in 1753, died 1795.

² His mother must have been about eighty years of age at the time.

³ Dallaway, *Observations on English Architect-*

ture, p. 287, also states that Pearson is 'said to have studied under the younger Price'.

⁴ *Daily Advertiser*, 16th Nov. 1775.

⁵ *Arch. Journ.*, vol. ix, p. 29.

⁶ p. 199 note.

information, I am inclined to think of the Flemish School, in the latter part of the sixteenth or early part of the seventeenth century. But the whole of the canopy-work, which is evidently copied from glass of similar design to that in the ante-chapel, is, except those portions of it that are actually of Wykeham's time, of comparatively a recent date; at which period the rest of the figures appear to have been painted, some of the old ones supplied with heads, and almost the whole of the old glass, not only the Flemish, but the remains of the original glazing in the tracery-lights, as well as in the lower lights, retouched. Coupling these facts with the inscription at the bottom of the last window from the east, which records the fact that W. Price repaired these windows in 1740, I can come to no other conclusion than that the greater part of the gazing is the work of Price, who adapted the Flemish figures to the lights.

Winston then went on to enumerate the various portions of each window in order to determine how much is Price's work. This is too long to give here, but can be consulted in the article in the *Archaeological Journal* referred to.

Another of Price's restorations, executed only seven years before his death, was the east window of St. Margaret's, Westminster, representing the *Crucifixion*. This window has a long, if somewhat doubtful, history. It is said to have been painted for the magistrates of Dort in Holland as a present to Henry VII for his chapel in Westminster, but never fixed therein.¹

After having been at various times in the possession of the abbot of Waltham Abbey, Thomas Bulleyn, father of Anne Bulleyn, General Monk, and several others, it was finally bought for 400 guineas and placed in the church in 1758.

Price is said to have twice restored the window, once when it was in Copt Hall near Epping, and again when he adapted it to fit the wider lights of the St. Margaret's window. This widening process he carried out in a very ingenious manner. To the two side lights containing the thieves on the cross he added strips of glass to match the old, but this treatment proving insufficient, the lights were cut down the centre, not in a straight line, but in a meandering one following the outline of the figures, the two halves drawn apart, and a river of glass to match the old, running from the top to the bottom of the lights, inserted. The modern glass matches the ancient excellently and is difficult to detect.

But unfortunately Price was not satisfied with this only, but has largely repainted the window on the top of the original work in the *chiaroscuro*² manner of painting on canvas at that time.

WORKS

WILLIAM PRICE (the elder)

1696. Christ Church, Oxford. East window. *Nativity* from cartoons by Sir James Thornhill (since removed).

¹ This statement is very doubtful. Some years ago the writer, through the courtesy of the late Prof. Lethaby, the Custodian of the Abbey, had the windows of the chapel measured. They appear to be far too small to accommodate the St. Margaret's window even before it was enlarged to fill the present opening.

² This term is generally taken to mean placing the light side of a head up against the dark side of the background and vice versa, so as to increase the effect of projection. Such a procedure is inadmissible in a glass-painting where the light is supposed to come from all directions.

1702. Merton College, Oxford. East window, *Nativity, Baptism, and Last Supper, Crucifixion, Resurrection, and Ascension* (since removed).

JOSHUA PRICE

1715. Queen's College Chapel, Oxford. Restoration of the Van Linge windows.
 1716-19. Restored the windows of Denton church near Bungay, Suffolk.
 1717. Queen's College Chapel, Oxford. East window. *Holy Family*.
 1718. St. Andrews, Holborn. East window. *Last Supper and Ascension*. (Destroyed during the Second World War.)
 1719. Witley, Worcs. Ten windows formerly in chapel at Cannons, Edgware, Middlesex. *Annunciation, Visitation, Nativity, Epiphany, Baptism, Peter walking on the Sea, Healing Cripple, Resurrection*.
 1721. Witley, Worcs. *Supper at Emmaus and Worship of the Golden Calf*.
 1721. Westminster Abbey. North rose window with figures of *Our Lord, The Four Evangelists, and Twelve Apostles* from cartoons by Sir James Thornhill.

WILLIAM PRICE (the younger)

- n.d. Palace of Bishop of Gloucester. *Resurrection*.
 1735. Westminster Abbey. West window of nave with figures of *Moses, Aaron, and the Patriarchs*.
 1740. New College, Oxford. South side. Restoration of Flemish glass.
 1741. Magdalen College, Oxford. Two windows nearest the altar. Removed in 1860.
 1758. St. Margaret's, Westminster. Restoration of east window.

Uncertain

- Kirkleatham Hospital near Redcar, Yorks. *Epiphany* and portraits of Sir William Turner, Lord Mayor of London, and his brother John, Sergeant-at-Law.
 Coleshill, Berks. Arms of Sir Mark Stuart Pleydell and his wife 'by Mr. Price of London' (*Beauties of England and Wales*, vol. i, p. 141).

FURTHER RESEARCH INTO THE CONSTRUCTION OF MAIL GARMENTS

By E. MARTIN BURGESS

IN a previous article¹ the writer described the technique used by the armourers of the past to make mail. Very little is known about the craftsmen who made it. It is not yet possible to date pieces of mail with the same degree of accuracy with which pieces of plate armour can be dated. There are several reasons for this lack of knowledge. In the first place mail is a structure which does not lend itself to the use of armourer's marks, and though pieces are marked in one way and another, experts are so far unable to trace them to their sources. Secondly, a mail garment is not necessarily restricted to one known wearer, but because of its stretching and contracting qualities will fit almost anyone reasonably well. Thirdly, at the time when mail-making was at its height the armourer's craft had not developed to the same extent and had not yet acquired the social and decorative importance which it was to have in later years. Thus the mail-maker was more obscure and his work had no characteristic sculptural quality by which it could be recognized. On the other hand, in the early days of armour, mail garments were few and very valuable with the result that they frequently changed hands, the stretching quality permitting their use by different owners. Lastly, mail suffers from rust because it exposes a vast surface of metal to the air. When it is worn the constant friction between one ring and another wears it out comparatively quickly even if it is never permitted to get rusted. For this reason the rings in mail shirts are often thinner round the hips than on shoulders, chest, or back. Most of the early mail has been destroyed by wear and time and only fragments remain. It is not possible to say with certainty to what type of garment these fragments once belonged.

It is small wonder then that so little is known about mail as compared with plate armour, but it is to be hoped that future research will uncover its secrets and aid the detection of fakes and modern reproductions. The aim of research is primarily to fix dates, localities, and makers' names on existing pieces of mail and, at the same time, to find out more about their construction.

The approach to the problem has been from the practical and craft side, and now that the method of constructing the rings is known, it is possible to observe how one garment differs from another of its own kind. Two equally well-made mail shirts or standing collars or pairs of sleeves will be quite different in construction. It is necessary to observe this variation very minutely and to try to ascertain why the difference exists. The truth is that unconsciously any craftsman leaves his mark on his work. It is like his own work and like the work of no other craftsman.

¹ *Antiq. Journ.*, vol. xxxiii (1953), pp. 48-55.

The writer wishes to acknowledge his great debt to Sir James Mann, P.S.A., and to the staffs of the Wallace Collection and the Armouries of the

Tower of London, for without their help and co-operation the research embodied in this and his previous paper would have been impossible.

The difference between two mail garments of the same type can be grouped under the structure of the rings themselves; their wire thickness, their rivets, their diameter, their roundness, and under the way in which they are linked together. It must be understood that in order to obtain useful information these two factors, the rings and their linking, must not only be observed, but a way found to record the observations accurately. Pieces of mail which are scattered all over the world must be compared at a distance, not against each other, but against these very accurately recorded facts. In short, each piece of mail must be carefully analysed and all the analyses must be carried out on the same lines, using the same standards and with the same end in view. Vast masses of data will have to be recorded before results can be obtained, but sooner or later it should be possible to say with certainty that two or more garments are by the hand of the same craftsman, a product of the same time or locality.

To achieve this end two questions must be asked and answered. What factors make one mail ring like itself and unlike a mail ring in another garment? What factors make a mail shirt or standing collar or sleeve, etc., like itself and unlike another mail shirt, standing collar, or sleeve?

The first step in the analysis of a garment is the minute examination of the individual rings. There may be many different types of rings in the garment; the rings of the main construction, brass for borders and decorations, smaller rings for strength round the necks of shirts and capes, small whole rings punched from a sheet often used to contract the necks of shirts and capes, rings used for repair, patches of other mail used for repair. Each type of ring in a garment must be examined and the observations recorded.

The first subject for examination is the wire from which the rings are made. Its cross-section must be observed and recorded and, if there are any drawplate marks, it must be ascertained whether they are the product of a smooth drawplate or of a rough swage block. Perfectly round wire is the product of a true drawplate. Wire-drawing was described in the previous article (*loc. cit.*, pp. 48-49).

The next step is to measure the diameter of the wire. This can only be done conveniently in one direction, at right angles to the plane of the ring. Measurements are best made with a micrometer and the results given in thousandths of an inch. As the wire in different rings of the same garment sometimes varies only by about five-thousandths of an inch it is not enough to state the wire thickness to the nearest thirty-second or even sixty-fourth of an inch as has been thought sufficient hitherto. Several rings of each kind must be measured for wire thickness and the results averaged, the average and the variation being recorded. Modern wire shows up at once under this test; the drawplate marks are smooth and almost invisible and the wire is perfectly circular and accurate. Repairs in modern wire to a shirt in the Wallace Collection (no. 335) have a wire accuracy of 5 thousandths of an inch, even though the wire has been rusted. It must be remembered, when wire is being measured, that only pieces of wire flat in one plane at least give accurate results. Bends, other than the curve of the ring, give a greater thickness for that particular ring and therefore care must be taken to select rings which are quite flat.

The diameter of the rings must now be measured and the results recorded in the

same manner as for the wire. The rings, because of the riveting, will never be quite circular: measurements must therefore be made across the ring in one direction only, a diameter parallel to the rivet joint. Care must be taken to see that the ring is not gripped by the micrometer at an angle or it will not record its diameter correctly.

Last and most important is the study of the rivet joint, if the ring is riveted, or the butt, if it is butted. Butted rings in European mail are almost always restorations and, if they are, this can be conclusively proved by testing the wire diameter variation with the micrometer. Inspect the butts to see if they have been sawn, or cut with wire cutters. Cutters leave a depression each side where the blades have clipped the wire. A saw often leaves a burr where the last piece of metal has been broken by the pressure and not cut. The sawn surfaces will also show marks of a saw unless they have been filed smooth.

If the ring is riveted, the type of rivet must be recorded and drawings made of the formation round it both back and front. There is often a 'water-shed' formation round the rivet head. Sometimes the 'water-shed' shows itself on the back as well. The head of the rivet or the area round it may have some type of 'tool-deformity' and, if this is repeated over several rings, it is worth recording. If the hard steel tools which closed the rivet or swaged out the rivet joint had certain forms or marks on them, these would be repeated over and over again. If there are armourers' marks, they are often introduced in this way, and are punched on every rivet head or tail. The shape of the back of the rivet is important. It is sometimes hard to see especially if the mail has been much rusted. The rivets are usually iron, but sometimes they are copper. No doubt this latter was softer to close. To record an exact impression of the rivet joints it is best to make casts of them in plaster of Paris.

When the rings have been thoroughly examined the garment can be analysed as a whole. A general description will put the various parts into their proper perspective and then the real analysis can be started.

Before the technique for analysis is described it would be best to explain the way in which mail garments are built up. The first necessity is a diagrammatic representation of mail to show its construction. The one used by the writer looks nothing like real mail, but the same formation can be reconstructed in butted rings from the diagram. The diagram must show clearly which rings link into each other and where the rows are. Pl. xxiii, *a* shows a butted reconstruction of a piece of mail of the usual European formation; one ring passes through four other rings. In this piece there are no complications and fig. 1 shows the same construction in diagrammatic form. The rings in fig. 1 are represented by the circles and are seen conveniently spaced apart. The rings which are linked together are joined by lines and the row lines are drawn, dotted, right through the rows. The mail is always examined from the outside, that is, the side on which the rivet heads show.

Repairers often patch with fragments of old mail and make the mistake of putting the rivet heads on the inside. In all mail the rivet heads face one way and in use they must have faced the outside. There would be considerable wear on any garment worn under the mail and no doubt the armourer cut down the friction as much as possible. This to some extent explains the triangular rivets with their very smooth backs. No doubt mistakes were made, shirts were worn inside out, mail capes had

their clasps fixed on the inside, but on the whole it is safe to say that the triangular rivet is intended to be worn with its large and almost invisible back on the inside. If this argument does not seem conclusive, the doubter has only to run his hand

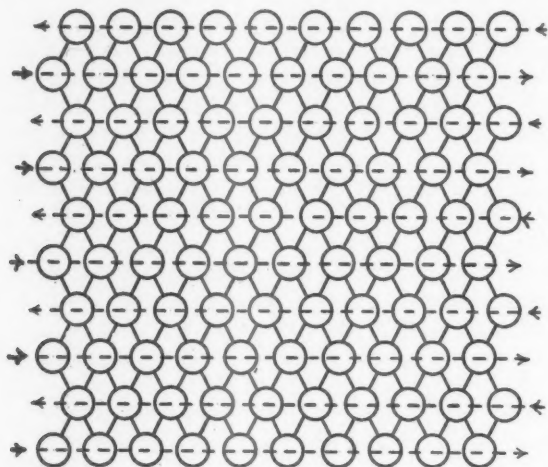


FIG. 1.

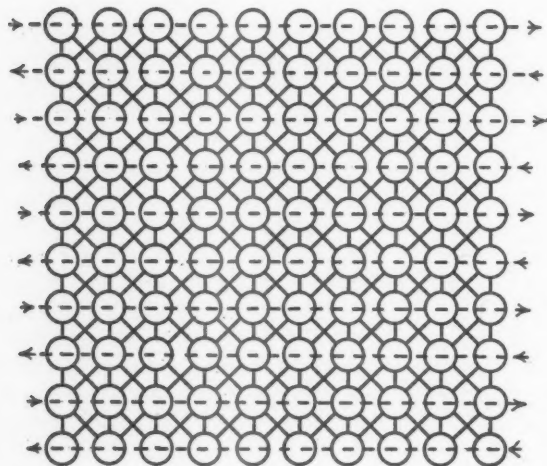


FIG. 2.

over some mail, preferably of the close-textured variety, and notice how smooth the back is and how rough the front; or to look at the superb camail on the 'Churburg Bascinet' now in the Armouries of the Tower of London and try to imagine the rivet heads turned inwards.

The first row of rings in pl. xxiii, *a* and fig. 1 slope to the left, the second to the right. If desired this can be shown by arrows on the row lines. This mail is of ordinary four-in-one European construction; pl. xxiii, *b* is a butted six-in-one construction never found in European mail. The writer has never seen it in a garment, but it is shown here to demonstrate how the complex tight structure is made simple by a diagram (fig. 2).

If a garment is to have shape and form, it must be expanded in some places and contracted in others. In mail the shaping is done in two ways or adaptations of these ways. Lines of rings can be joined at right angles to each other as shown in fig. 3.

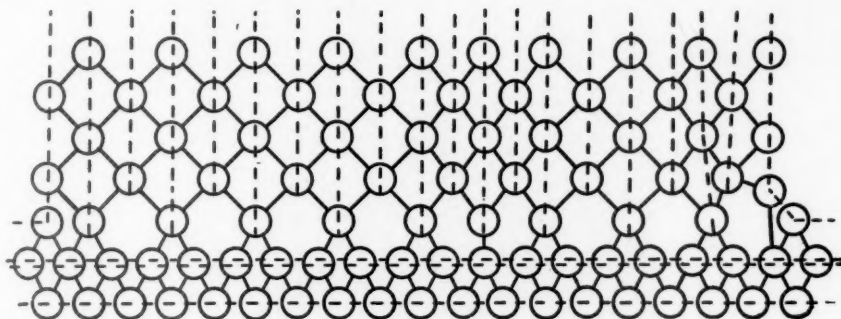


FIG. 3.

This diagram is taken from the armpit of a shirt (no. 335) in the Wallace Collection. Notice that the three-dimensional shape of this section of the shirt has distorted the row lines in the diagram, but it would still be possible to build a butted reproduction from it.

The second and much more subtle way of giving the garment shape is to increase or decrease rings, either singly or in formations and groups following some pre-conceived plan as is done in knitting. Fig. 4 shows a ring added or subtracted depending on which way up the diagram is held. This ring, only linked into three others, is shaded. It is convenient for want of a ready-made term to call this an 'idle' ring because it hangs loosely out of the mail structure when the garment is hung up. If more rings result below the idle ring, it is an 'idle increase'; if less it is an 'idle decrease', and as a rule the shape of the garment indicates which of the two it is because garments have an easily defined top and bottom.

An idle ring by itself in a piece of mail is hard to see, but it usually shows itself by its idle appearance, hanging out of the structures. Pl. xxiii, *c* shows a piece of butted mail with one idle ring.

The mail maker, working on a half-finished shirt, would think in terms of idle rings, or increases or decreases, in the correct places; not in terms of 'pieces of mail put in to expand the structure'. This is why it is a pity the term 'gusset' has come to be used to describe these V-shaped formations in mail garments. The word 'gusset' is perfectly correct for describing lines of increased or decreased idle rings

where these rings are so close to each other that they give an obvious change of direction to the rows. Most increases and decreases, however, are not made in this way but are carried out invisibly by scattered idle rings. It would be much better to abandon the term 'gusset' as applied to these visible formations and to approach the subject from the 'idle rings' point of view which covers all expansions and contractions, both those which are readily apparent and those which are hidden. To say 'gusset' is also to regard mail as a cloth to be pulled apart and joined up at will

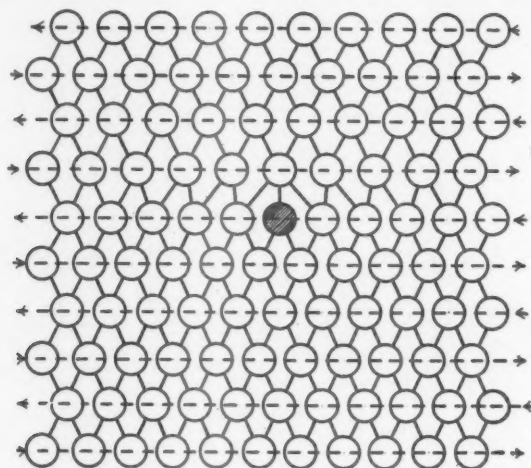
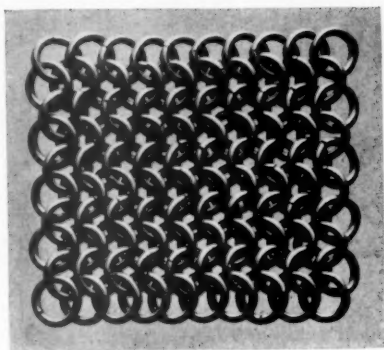


FIG. 4.

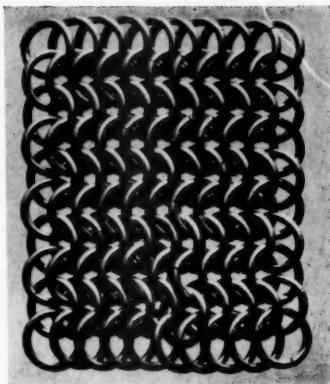
and it is doubtful if this was ever done. Mail was built up link by link, a row at a time, like knitting, and to give it shape idle rings were put in to get the required formation. The best piece of invisible expansion known to the writer is the opening out on the camail of the 'Churburg Bascinet' previously mentioned. The expansion over the shoulders is produced by scattered idle rings which are far enough from each other to be very hard to see.

Idle rings can be used to decrease the number of rings in a row or the number of rows. When rows are reduced, two rows are cut out together and either one or two idle rings result, depending on the construction. The writer has found both these constructions in shirts and both in the same shirt. One produces a hole in the structure, and the other tends to produce a knot. The type with a knot has one idle ring and is found, in a shirt, in the row reductions on the rump. The type with the hole is found in the row reductions to shape the sleeve and is situated on the underside. Here a knot would bunch and cause discomfort but a small hole would not endanger the wearer. Pl. xxiii, *d* shows a butted reconstruction of the knot type and fig. 5 is a diagram of it. Pl. xxiii, *e* is a butted reconstruction of the type with the hole and fig. 6 is a diagram of it. Note the number of idle rings which result.

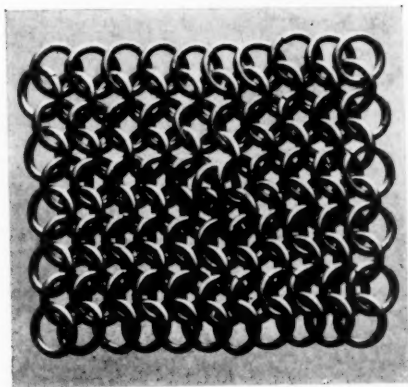
In mail garments these patterns of idle rings are often very complex and they are often, especially in mail of good quality, perfectly symmetrical, that is, the formation



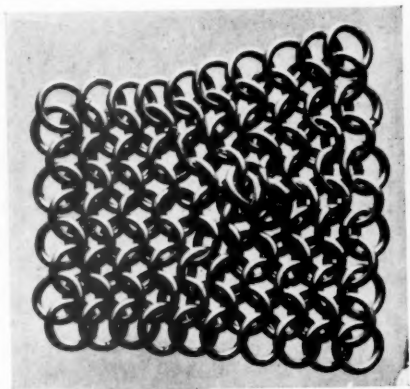
a



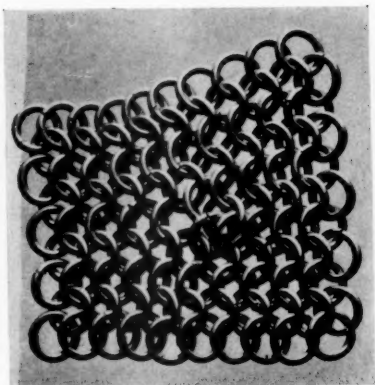
b



c

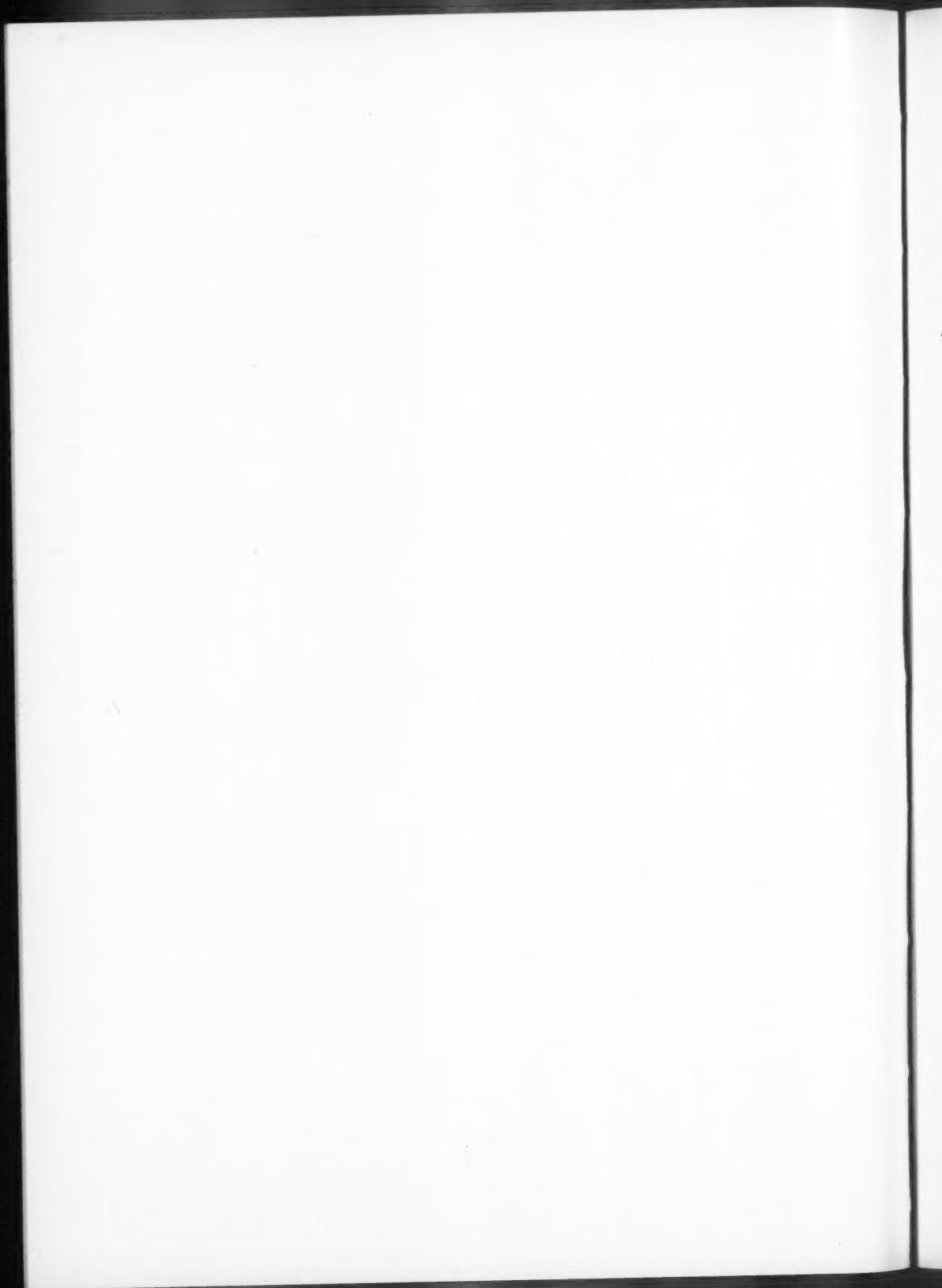


d



e

Samples of butted mail showing various constructions



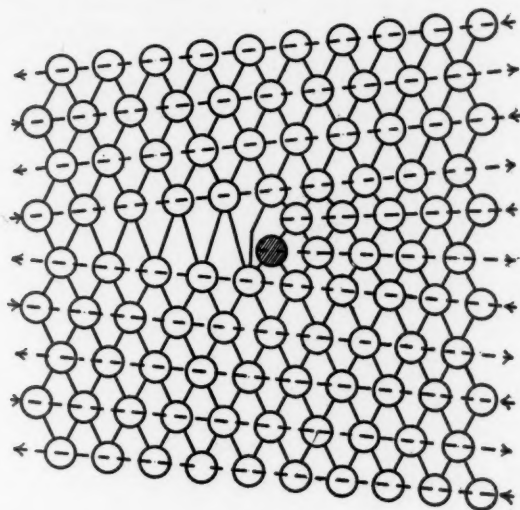


FIG. 5.

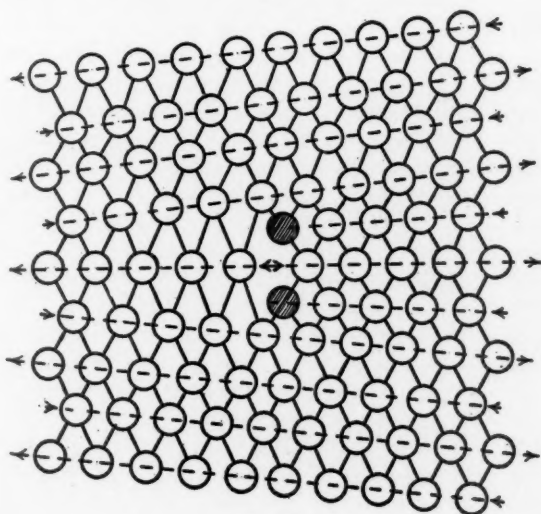


FIG. 6.

on the left is the same as that on the right. There is a reason for each increase and decrease and the craftsman does not often make a mistake even when an expansion or contraction is by scattered idle rings. It is almost certain that he had no written pattern to work from but carried a 'theme' pattern in his head for each type of

garment. For different sizes he would probably make variations on this 'theme'. The 'themes' might be passed from one generation to another; exist in one locality; or they might indicate an age in the development of the craft. This is, however, purely speculative. Time and research alone will show the connexion between one pattern and another. The great importance of these patterns, however, is that existing mail garments can be compared with one another. An analysis of the garments is all that is required.

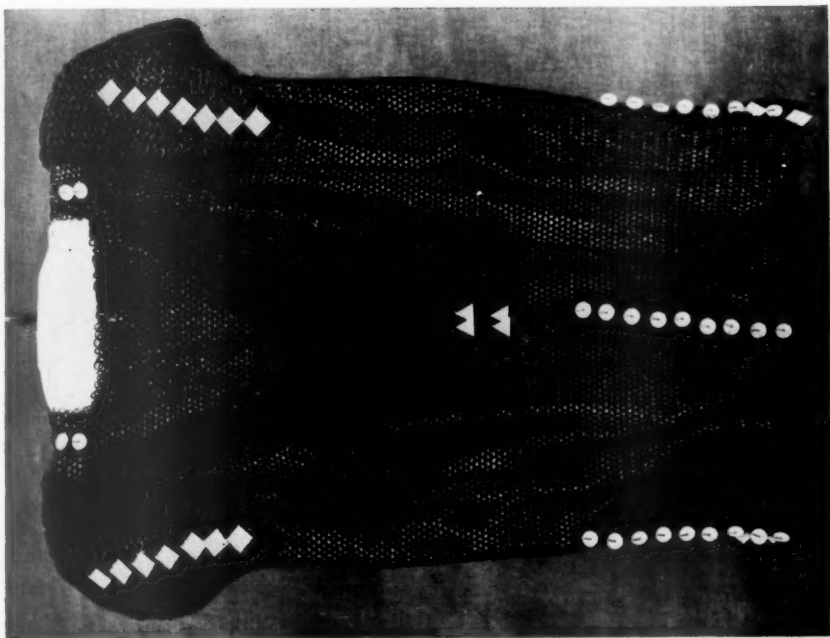
The analysis of a mail garment is not difficult, but it takes time and patience. A shirt is one of the most complicated garments to analyse so it will be best to describe the method used for that. After all the types of rings have been examined, as described above, the shirt must be hung up. One idle ring will be visible at a time, so in order to grasp the whole pattern each idle ring has to be marked with a tag. The writer has found small circular plastic tags of different colours to be the best.

The first step is to mark off the area to be analysed. The body of the shirt should be done first. The number of rings in the bottom row are counted and the number of rings in the first whole row under the armpits. If the bottom row of the shirt is rather ragged it is best to count a row a little way from the bottom. The counting is made easier if a marker is placed through every tenth ring. The counting of rings must be exact or much needless work will result. The positions of the 'counting' rows must be recorded, their distance apart and from the bottom of the shirt. There will almost always be more rings in the bottom 'counting' row because some additions will have been made. Increasing and decreasing idle rings in this section are then found and marked, until the numbers balance, showing that all the idle rings have been found. The markers will have built themselves up into regular symmetrical patterns. The position and number of idle rings must be accurately recorded. Their height can be given by stating how many rows they are from the top or bottom 'counting' row, and the slant of the lines of idle rings given, by stating how many rings are between the top and bottom idle rings on each side.

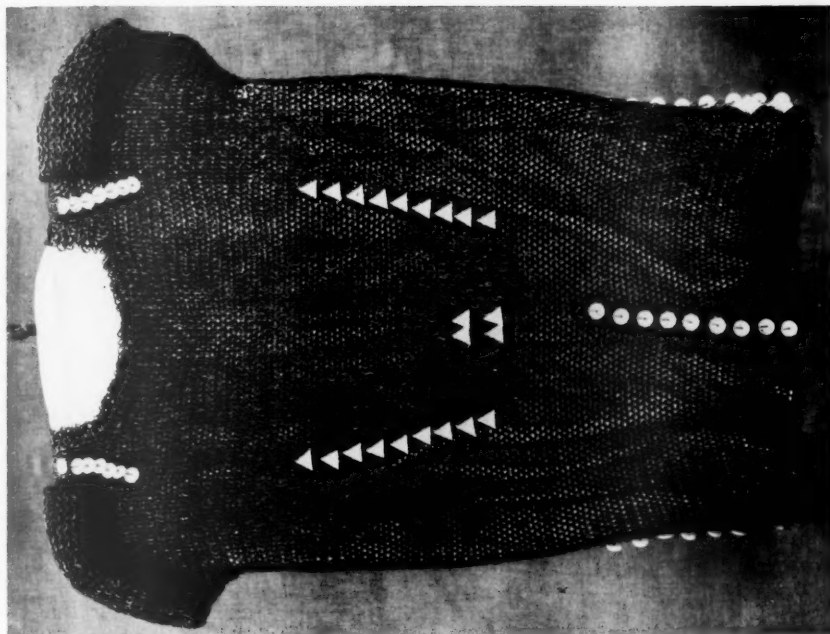
The rest of the shirt can be tackled in any order. Special note must be made of the structure under the arms where they join the body. Here the lines of rings are joined at right angles to each other and a diagram must be made as there is no convenient way of putting the structure into words. A similar structure is often found round the neck, as three or four lines of rings from the back are sometimes made to run over the shoulders to give an edging to the neck. Over the shoulders they will naturally run at right angles to the other lines of rings running down the arms. This structure must also be recorded diagrammatically.

A line of increase idle rings often runs from each shoulder over the shoulder blades. This is probably because more room is required in the back of a shirt to permit free movement when arms and shoulders are hunched forward. If there is any doubt as to which is the front and which is the back of a shirt, as sometimes happens, this construction will indicate back and front.

The sleeves can be analysed in the same manner as the body, but the lines of rings will be along the sleeves and not round them. Thus reductions in the sleeve diameter will be row reductions and not ring reductions. The method for row reductions has been described above. If the sleeves are of wrist length there will

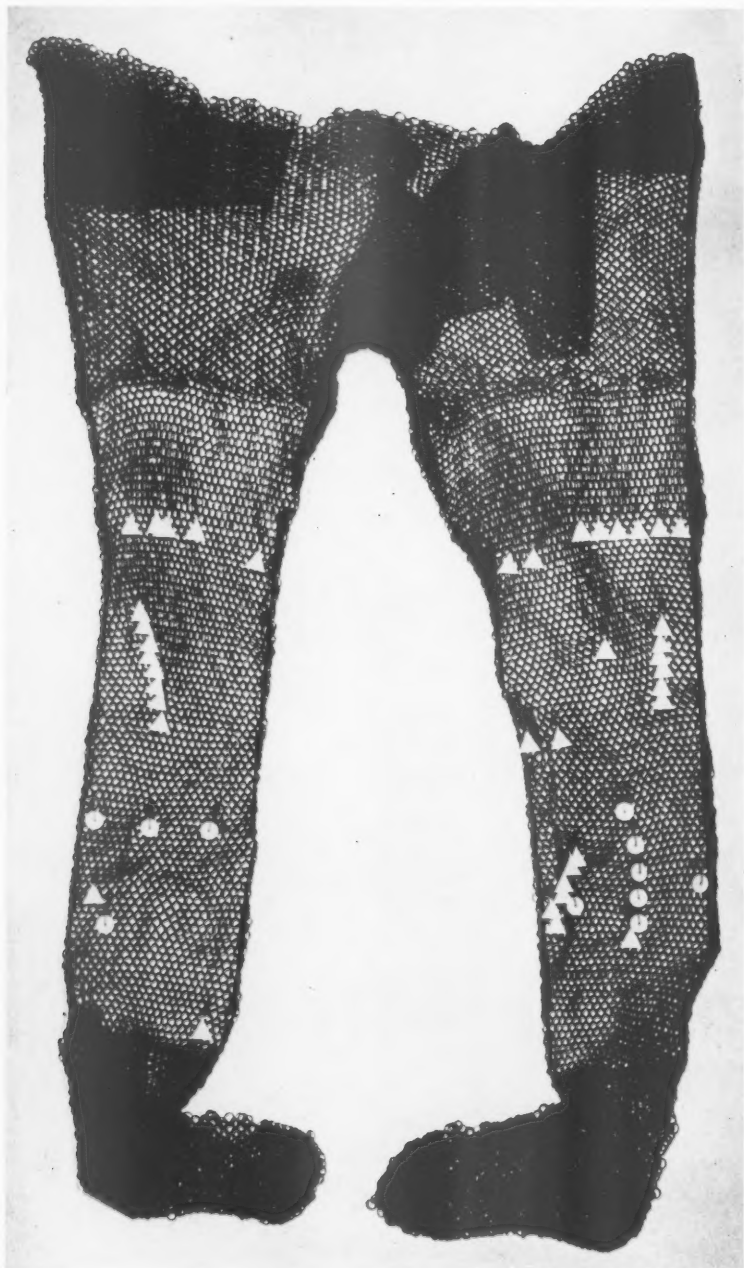


a. Front



b. Back

Mail shirt in the Wallace Collection (no. 920)



Pair of chausses in the Wallace Collection (no. 336)

often be a set of idle rings on the inside of the elbow to give the sleeve a bend and prevent bunching when the arm is bent. These will be decreasing idle rings.

Every mail garment can be analysed in this way, but the analysis will be of no use unless it is absolutely accurate. The writer has found circular plastic markers of different colours, provided with wire hooks, suitable for research. If, however, white markers of different shapes are used, circles for increases, triangles for decreases, squares for row reductions, photographs can be made of the garment with the markers in place. It may take several hours to get the markers in their correct positions, so a photograph of the resulting patterns is helpful for purposes of comparison with other similar garments. Pl. xxiv is a photograph of a shirt (no. 920 in the Wallace Collection) with the markers in position. The construction of this shirt is straightforward and has been carried out with great precision. The shirt is four rows longer at the back than at the front, and these four rows are taken out at the sides in pairs, with a construction of the knot type producing one idle ring for each pair. Each pair is marked with a white square hung by the corner.

The expansion for the hips is produced by four vertical lines of idle rings, one on each side, and one in the centre of the front and back. There is one idle ring to every four rows.

Reductions for the waist are carried out in two sets of four, marked by white triangles, in the centre of the front and back and by two sloping lines of idle rings on the back. Each of these two lines contains nine idle rings, one to every four rows, and this compensates for the shoulder-blade expansion which runs over the shoulders from front to back. This shoulder-blade expansion consists of nine idle rings on each shoulder, one to every other row.

The sleeves were photographed folded back over the shoulders to expose the row reductions reducing the diameter of the sleeves. These reductions each produce two idle rings, forming a slight hole, and cut out two rows together. They are shown by squares hung by a corner and are in a line on the under side of the arms. Each sleeve is reduced in diameter by fourteen rows.

This shirt was chosen as an example, not only because of its precise and logical construction and its excellent state of preservation, but because it bears what is probably an armourer's mark. This is in the form of a stamped brass ring in the centre of the front of the neck. It is desirable that the first mail articles to receive attention should be those about which something relating to their history is already known.

The photographs do not record the exact numerical positions of the idle rings in relation to the counting rows nor do they record the formations round the neck or in the armpit, so full notes and diagrams still have to be made. The photograph does, however, explain the notes to someone who has not actually analysed that particular piece of mail.

The analysis of mail also makes fakes or deceitful alterations instantly detectable. Now that the method of making mail is known it would be possible to construct whole garments and pass them off as medieval, but to construct every ring in such a garment and to link the rings together would be a worthless occupation since the cost of the labour required would far exceed the value of the finished article.

In the past genuine pieces of mail were altered to make them more valuable. Pl. xxv shows a pair of chausses which are in the Wallace Collection (no. 336). They are seamed up the back of the legs with butted rings, but this might have been other mail converted with intent to deceive or a pair of genuine chausses split up the back and joined together again at a later date to restore them as far as possible to their original state. Markers were placed in the chausses, and it is obvious from the photograph that they have never been genuine chausses because the construction bears no relation to their shape. It is impossible to make up old mail into rare garments and escape detection, because some of the structure from the original garment will remain. In the opinion of the writer these chausses (no. 336 in the Wallace Collection) have been made from a shirt which has been cut up the centre of the chest and back, and each piece separately joined up with butted rings. The alteration has, to a large extent, destroyed the symmetry of the pattern.

The method of analysis which has been described does not tell us very much about the date or origin of a piece of mail. The research is not sufficiently advanced and not enough data have been collected, as yet, to enable pieces to be related to each other. The analysis gives a mail garment an individuality which has not previously been recorded and this will enable garments to be compared constructionally. The analysis is, however, of little practical value or interest, except perhaps to the technician, unless by comparison more can be learned of the history of pieces.

Craftsmen do not use patterns and techniques at random; they tend to adhere to the methods which they have been taught. This would be especially true of a craft so ancient and repetitive as mail-making. It is the writer's belief that the patterns found in mail have a very real historical, and perhaps geographical, significance. Investigation into these patterns may be the road to further knowledge of a craft which probably died out within the last century, after a history covering three thousand years.

NOTES

A socketed bronze adze from Somerset.—Mr. L. V. Grinsell, F.S.A., contributes the following note: In the autumn of 1952 Mr. G. J. Vowles, of Gratwicke Cottage, Barrow Gurney, found a bronze implement of unusual type on freshly ploughed ground at Freeman's Farm, in the parish of Barrow Gurney. The precise find-spot is in the field midway between Freeman's Farm and Pottershill, the National Grid Reference being ST(31)/51906655 approx.

The implement (fig. 1) is remarkable by reason of the loop on the face, and the expanded blade which has the superficial appearance of being separate from the socket, the mouth of which is squarish. An example of similar outline, though side-looped, has been published from Wilburton, Cambridgeshire (*Arch.*, xlviii, pl. v). An otherwise unprovenanced French implement of similar form, though without any loop, passed from Lord Avebury's collection to the Borough of Newbury Museum. Though parallels seem to be rare, the Barrow Gurney example seems most likely to have been imported from the Continent, possibly France.

The writer is indebted to Miss N. K. Sandars and Messrs. J. W. Brailsford and Arthur Ap Simon for assistance in compiling the accompanying lists of socketed and winged bronze adzes. He is also grateful to Dr. H. Taylor of Bristol who visited the site of discovery and determined the precise find-spot. The implement has been acquired by the Bristol City Museum.

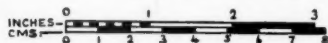
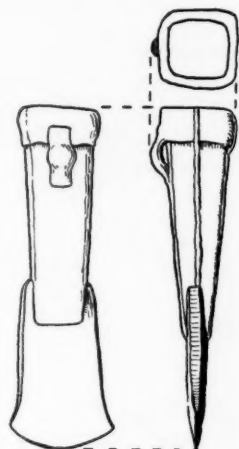


FIG. 1. Socketed bronze adze from Barrow Gurney, Somerset. ($\frac{1}{2}$)

List of Socketed Bronze Adzes

County	Parish	Details	Museum	References
ENGLAND				
Bucks.	Stoke Poges (see under Surrey: Thames Ditton)			
Cambs.	Whittlesea	Circular socket. Part of hoard which included 3 socketed axes, 2 socketed gouges, socketed hammer, and socketed spear-head with rivet-holes	Wisbech	Evans, <i>A.B.I.</i> 130, fig. 154
Hants	Weeks	Square socket	Cardiff, 20.294	<i>Antiq. Journ.</i> iv (1924), 151; <i>Arch. Eng. & Wales</i> , 123, note 1

List of Socketed Bronze Adzes (cont.)

<i>County</i>	<i>Parish</i>	<i>Details</i>	<i>Museum</i>	<i>References</i>
Hunts.	Wood Walton (Castle Hills)	Slightly squared oval socket		<i>Antiq. Journ.</i> ix (1929), 248-9; <i>Arch. Eng. & Wales</i> , 123, note 1
Somerset	Barrow Gurney	Squarish socket	Bristol City Museum	This paper
Surrey	Thames Ditton (per- haps from Stoke Poges, Bucks., as dredged from the R. Thames)	Square socket	B.M. W.G. 1759	<i>Antiq. Journ.</i> iv (1924), 151; <i>Arch. Eng. & Wales</i> , 123, note 1
<i>Department</i>		FRANCE		
Vaucluse	Avignon		B.M.	<i>B.M. Bronze Age Guide</i> , 128, fig. 134
Loire Inf.	Nantes	Sub-rectangular socket	Nantes Mus. 77	Information from Miss N. Sandars
		SWITZERLAND		
From Lake Dwellings			B.M.	<i>B.M. Bronze Age Guide</i> , 120, fig. 124

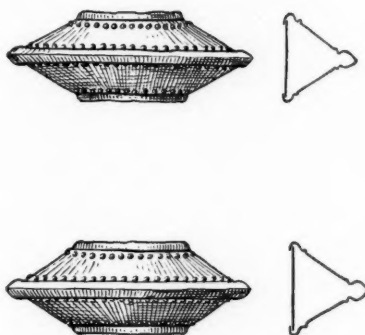
N.B. The list of continental examples is not intended to be complete.

List of Winged Bronze Adzes

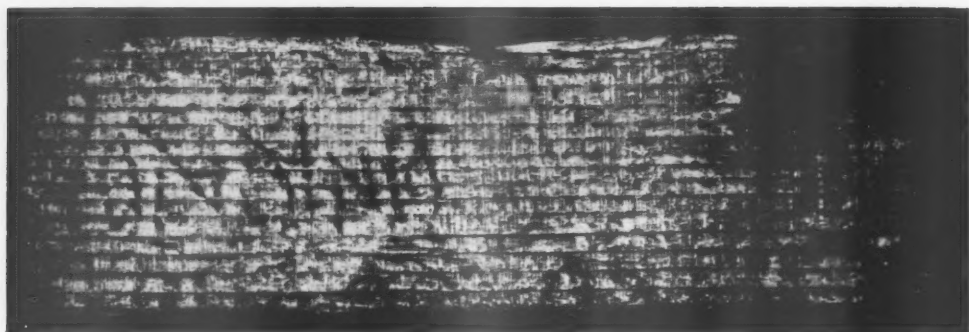
<i>County</i>	<i>Parish</i>	<i>Details</i>	<i>Museum</i>	<i>References</i>
ENGLAND				
Essex	Shoebury	Part of hoard	B.M. 92-6- 13, 6	Information from Mr. J. W. Brailsford
Kent	Swalecliffe	Part of hoard	B.M. 1922. 2-6, 3	Information from Mr. J. W. Brailsford
FRANCE				
<i>Department</i>				
Somme	Abbeville (near)			<i>L'Anthropologie</i> (1905), 158, fig. 5, no. 58
Finistère	Gouesnach		Vannes	<i>Déchelette, Manuel</i> , ii (1924), 258, fig. 91; appendix 1, no. 234

N.B. The list of continental examples is not intended to be complete.

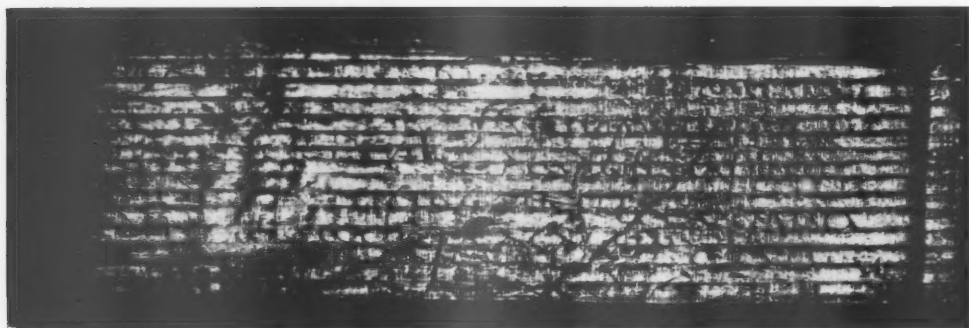
Two gold penannular ornaments from Harting Beacon, Sussex.—Miss P. A. M. Keef contributes the following: The two penannular ornaments of triangular section were found in July 1947 during the third season's excavation at Harting Beacon by the West Sussex Excavation Group. One was found against the side of the chalk causeway carrying the terraced entrance



Two gold penannular ornaments from Harting Beacon, Sussex (1)



a. Exterior of tablet inscribed *Londinio*. (1)



b. Interior of the above, containing six lines of a letter. (1)

through the West Gate. Lying at 1 ft. 3 in. below the present ground surface, it was in a protective wrapping of loam which was part of the layer of chalk mud covering the north face of the causeway. The second came from the same type of soil, and must originally have lain in the same level, but it was not stratified. They are identical in appearance (pl. xxvi).

The hillfort has been dated on pottery evidence to Iron Age (Sussex) A2, and the West Gate was in process of being recut, but was never finished.¹

The ornaments measure $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. across, with the usual central opening $\frac{1}{2}$ in. wide, and are of the usual shape and technique of such ornaments in the opinion of Mr. Herbert Maryon,² who has kindly examined them. The gold is rather dark in colour. The decoration consists of an embossed line accompanied by embossed dots (a ring of concentric circles) which outlines the edge and the central opening on both sides, a familiar Late Bronze Age ornamentation.

The distribution of gold penannular ornaments³ is confined to the British Isles, with the great majority in Ireland, their original home and probable area of production, and the Marne district of north France. It will be noticed that the French examples are made of bronze or of thin gold plates over bronze.⁴ It is interesting that the French specimens should be from the Marne, when it is considered that the Harting examples were found in an Iron Age A2 (Sussex) hillfort, a few miles north of Chichester harbour.

The curious finding-place of the Harting ornaments seems to point to their placing being deliberate, a sort of foundation deposit, perhaps. For it will be realized that one touch of a heavy implement on the paper-thin gold would have destroyed them, whereas they were uncovered in excellent condition. This suggests an heirloom sacrificed on the occasion of renewing the fortifications.

Professor V. Gordon Childe, who has kindly given us his opinion, writes: 'I think the continental specimens described by Favret are copies of the Irish and it is nice to have two specimens from Britain intermediate between the Marne and Ireland. In the *Prehistory of Scotland* I illustrate and describe the specimen from Mull. . . . All the associated specimens from the British Isles, notably those from Balmashanner, have good Late Bronze Age contexts, as you see. The French specimen is associated with a derivative of the Jenšovice cup, which I would now date a little earlier than I did in 1935; namely, the majority of the Jenšovice cups belong to Reinecke's Halstatt A, which Hawkes and I have now agreed to call Bronze Age E. But the French specimen belongs to a variant which is more likely Reinecke Halstatt B in Holste's sense, which Hawkes and I call Bronze Age F, and I would not like to guarantee that they do not last into Halstatt I. . . . I have not seen the ring of concentric circles upon these penannular ornaments of triangular section before, but it is, of course, a familiar motif in the Late Bronze Age, not only on the shields, but also on gold work. A good example is the sundisc from Mull associated with the penannular ornament on my pl. xii. This style of ornament is found on the Continent in phases earlier than Bronze Age, e.g. on the gold hats from Schifferstedt, Reinecke C, and many gold vessels from Denmark and Germany in Montelius III, and on the small gold and copper sundisc from Mühlau, Tyrol, Reinecke D. Our colleagues on the Continent think that, at least on gold work, this style is probably of Irish inspiration rather than the reverse. There was, for instance, a parallel to the Schifferstedt "hat" from Co. Cork, which is, however, known only from an eighteenth-century drawing.'

Hitherto, in Britain, the only examples of similarly decorated metalwork of the same period as the Harting Beacon ornaments are two bronze bowls from, respectively, the Glastonbury Lake Village (cf. *The Glastonbury Lake Village*, by Bulleid and Gray, plate as frontispiece to

¹ Work in later seasons has dated the recutting of defences to ultimate Iron Age Cor the Roman invasion.

² *P.R.I.A.*, vol. xlv, and *Arch. Ael.*, 4th ser.,

vol. xvi, 101 *et seq.*

³ H. St. George Gray in *Antiq. Journ.* v, 141-4.

⁴ Favret, *Revue Arch.* xxviii, 1928, 30 *et seq.*

vol. i, and pp. 179-82) in Somerset, and Spettisbury in Dorset, the specimen from the latter site a fragment.

Professor Childe notes that 'dot-and-circle was so popular on bone in Glastonbury and suchlike horizons'.

Three Roman writing-tablets from London.—Professor I. A. Richmond, F.S.A., sends the following note: The writing-tablets which are the subject of this note were offered with two others for sale on 12th April 1948 by Messrs. Sotheby¹ in a miscellaneous lot which had been the property of the late Mr. E. F. Hope-Masham, a well-known Kensington collector and antiquary.

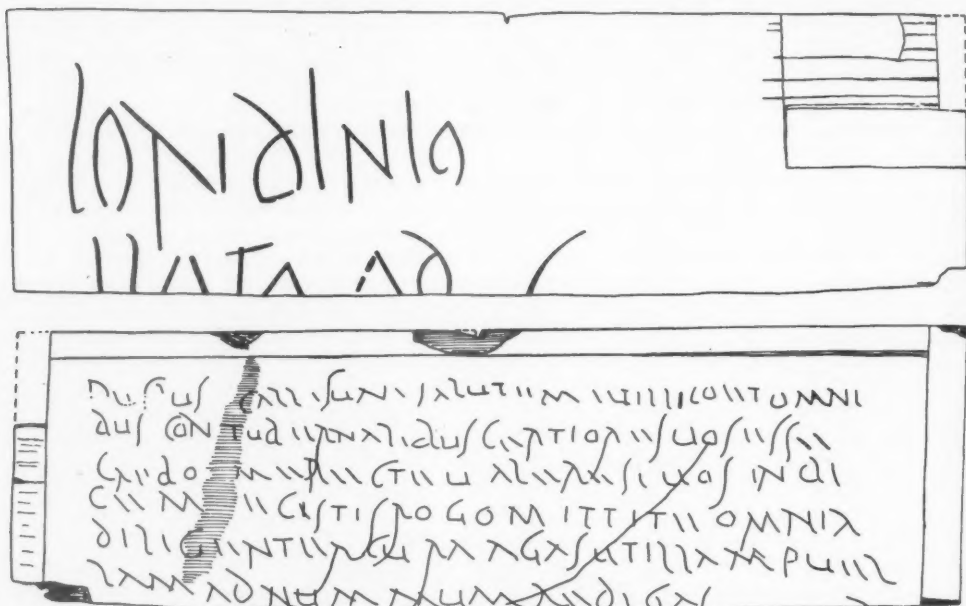


FIG. 1. Roman writing-tablets from London. (1) (See pl. xxvii)

When the writer inspected the pieces he observed that one of the tablets had the word *Londinio* in large letters on the outside and traces of a good deal of writing within: he therefore kept the objects in sight. In due course the lot was purchased by Mr. A. Y. Phillipson, an insurance agent, of Halifax Chambers, Harrogate, who was interested solely in the other articles which it contained and most generously presented all three tablets to the writer. As to their original find-spot there can be little doubt. According to the auctioneer's catalogue they came from the Walbrook, and all still retain traces of the mud in which they were enveloped. It may be regarded as certain that they came from Lothbury, where, in the ancient bed of the Walbrook, other tablets, now to be seen in the London Museum, were discovered in 1927. Finally, it should be

¹ Messrs. Sotheby & Co. *Sale Catalogue, Monday 12 April 1948: collection of Roman Antiquities, the property of E. F. Hope-Masham, Esq., 3 Pembroke*

Gardens, Kensington, W., p. 8, lot 88; the tablets were described as 'fragments of three wooden Writing Tablets, from Walbrook, City of London'.

noted that, although each of the three tablets has evidently been the leaf of at least a diptych, none now goes to form a pair. All three tablets are now in the British Museum.

The first tablet is almost complete, except for two corners, which have been broken off and lost. It measures $5\frac{13}{16}$ in. by $4\frac{5}{16}$ in., and the writing-panel, originally coated with wax and framed by narrow raised borders for its protection, measures within the borders $4\frac{3}{4}$ in. by $3\frac{5}{8}$ in. The tablet is $\frac{3}{16}$ in. thick. In the middle of one long side there is a nick, $\frac{1}{8}$ in. deep, for a binding string;¹ and on the same side are two round holes, each $\frac{1}{16}$ in. in diameter, which lie $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. from each end and are $2\frac{5}{8}$ in. apart; they were evidently intended to take the loops attaching a second tablet, now lost, of corresponding size. The writing surface has a few faint scratches upon it here and there, showing that its wax coating, now wholly removed, had once been inscribed but with too light a touch for the stilus to have impressed its strokes upon the wood below. The outer surface is uninscribed. The wood² is fir-wood, liable to split, and has in fact been broken across and stuck together in modern times, presumably after reaching its late owner's hands.

The second tablet is of finer grain, but fragmentary. Of a tablet 5 in. in height, only $2\frac{1}{4}$ in. of the width survives, with three borders. As on the first tablet, the long side has the central nick for binding, here $\frac{1}{4}$ in. deep; the holes for attachment must have been on the opposite edge. The writing space surviving is $4\frac{3}{8}$ in. long but now only $1\frac{7}{8}$ in. across; and this portion of the tablet has been used upon at least three separate occasions, twice in small lettering and once in large, so that the scratches which have penetrated the wax are superimposed in a confusion like that upon a well-used blotting-pad, though not, of course, in reverse. A few individual letters can be made out, but do not afford a clue as to which goes with which. On the outside have been clumsily scratched the letters VANNIO I VONONIO/IMII, but they look suspiciously fresh, as if they were not ancient but had been scratched on the wood in modern times.

The third fragment belonged to a tablet $5\frac{3}{4}$ in. high and now $1\frac{11}{16}$ in. wide. The writing surface is $5\frac{1}{4}$ in. long, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. of height is now preserved. Damage comprises a break in the border at the top left-hand corner, some splintering of the wood round the nick for the binding-string, and a slight abrasion of the written surface, such as might have been done by a workman's pick point. The wood is once more a medium grain fir-wood.

The outside exhibits the word *Londinio* written in a bold cursive hand with a pen³ whose nib had an edge $\frac{3}{4}$ in. wide; there are also seen the tops of letters in a second line, perhaps *L. Vital. ad. . .* The inside exhibits six lines of lettering once written upon the wax coating with a firmly held stilus which has cut through it so as to incise the wood. The text, slightly longer than any so far forthcoming from London, runs as follows:

- 1 *Rufus callisuni salutem epillico et omnibus contubernalibus certiores vos esse credo me recte valere si vos indicem fecistis rogo mittite omnia*
- 5 *diligenter cura agas ut illam puellam ad nummum redigas. . .*

A translation is:

'Rufus, son of Callisunus, greeting to Epillicus and all his fellows. I believe you know I am very well. If you have made the list, please send. Do thou look after everything carefully. See that thou turnest that slave-girl into cash. . .'

¹ Cf. *London in Roman Times* (London Museum Catalogue 3), 55, fig. 9, no. 2 and 57, fig. 10, which exhibit tablets with exactly comparable nicks.

² As used for other London examples, *ibid.*, 54.

³ The strength of the impression suggests that it was probably a bronze pen, cf. *ibid.*, 58, fig. 11, no. 1.

The letter is a series of instructions, as from a master to a responsible servant and his fellow-slaves (*contubernales*). The named servant, Epillicus, has a Celtic name, a by-form of the well-known Celtic name Epillus.¹ The master is not a Roman citizen, but a *peregrinus*; and his father, Callisunus,² was a Celt. After the preliminary exchange of civilities, not to say banalities, the instructions given suggest the realization of an estate. There is a request for an inventory upon which all are engaged. Epillicus, addressed in the singular, is to attend to the matter carefully and is to see that a slave-girl is turned into cash. At that point the text breaks off; but it is a letter which is certainly more personal and perhaps more provocative of natural curiosity than any which London has previously furnished. An interesting picture is afforded of Celtic society conducting its daily business in Latin.

The handwriting is good, and may be compared with the Neronian cursive script of Sextus Pompeius Axiochus at Pompeii,³ dated to A.D. 57, or with the Domitianic tablet⁴ from Lothbury of A.D. 84-96. It is better than the hands employed for the two other Lothbury tablets.⁵ But good standards in cursive script remained fairly constant and it is not intended by these comparisons to confine the London tablet rigorously to the first century. It compares not so ill with the best writing of the Antonine period at Alburnus Maior,⁶ though it is vastly superior to the worst.

Anglo-Saxon exports: a criticism.—Mr. E. T. Leeds, F.S.A., contributes the following: At times it would appear that continental archaeologists do not sufficiently appreciate the special position in which British archaeology stands in regard to the Migration period. On the one hand, in northern Europe, particularly in Scandinavia, an uninterrupted cultural evolution can be traced throughout the first millennium of our era, allowing any new influences and motives that come to hand to be steadily adopted and absorbed. On the other hand, in Britain, or more strictly speaking in the large part of modern England affected by the invasions, there occurs a very marked cultural breach. The influences of 400 years of Roman occupation very largely disappear, since the incoming Anglo-Saxons bring with them their own material civilization. Naturally in it remains of classical influences can be observed; they form part of the artistic repertory already developed before they left north Germany or the Jutish peninsula. But the new-comers introduced styles in hand-made pottery and many ornamental forms in bronze previously unknown in this country. One of the latter is the great square-headed brooch (*Relief fibel*); it has no ancestor here. Consequently when we meet here such a form with its own special ornamentation, we naturally inquire where it came from, and in our search for a parallel we first turn to the Continent where alone it might be found.

In recent years there has been mention in continental literature of export to Germany of objects supposedly made in this country. First of these is a great square-headed brooch from Tübingen, Württemberg, which Dr. Nils Åberg in 1934⁷ stated *might* be an import from England. Dr. Åberg is fully entitled to his personal opinion, but since that date his pronouncement seems, as it were, to have become an established fact echoed by a whole chorus of continental archaeologists. It is worth while to re-examine this brooch on the basis of the *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Great Square-headed Brooches* published in 1949.⁸

Dr. Åberg holds that the brooch belongs to the Scandinavian group with biting heads, while

¹ Cf. Holder, *Alt-celtischer Sprachschatz*, i, 1455, s.v.

² The name itself does not appear to be found, but the elements are common enough.

³ *C.I.L.* iv, Suppl. i, 275-454: for convenient reproductions cf. Diehl, *Inscriptiones Latinae* (1912), p. xviii.

⁴ *London Museum, op. cit.*, 55, fig. 9, no. 1.

⁵ *Ibid.*, nos. 2, 3.

⁶ *C.I.L.* iii, 2, 921 ff.: for good examples, official or semi-official documents, see nos. I, V, VI, and VIII.

⁷ *Alt-schlesien*, v, 299.

⁸ Oxford, Clarendon Press.

at the same time it is neither of northern nor of mid-European origin, but rather Anglo-Saxon and probably manufactured in Kent. Several objections to this view can be advanced:

1. No brooch with an *undivided* foot has been found in Kent with a head-plate decorated in the Tåbingen style. The nearest approach to it can be seen in the compact group (Corpus B3) from the south midlands, where the brooch with *divided* foot is as far as is known almost universal.

2. The biting-heads and the animals bordering the foot-plate are in a heavy, almost clumsy style to which the English series offers no parallel, but which can be seen on examples from Langlo and Trøgslund, South Norway.¹



FIG. 1. Detail of ornament on foot-plate of large square-headed brooches. (a) Vedstrup, Sjaelland from photograph, Copenhagen; (b) and (c) Tåbingen, Württemberg. b after *Alt Schlesien* v. 299; c after *Germania*, xvi (1932), pl. xiv.

3. The bow is far longer than in the English series except that of the Finglesham brooch (Corpus, no. 1), which in that respect may be aptly contrasted with the Bifrons brooch (Corpus, no. 2), especially if due regard is taken to their relative size.

4. The drawing of the animal's foot on the Tåbingen brooch is not necessarily English. Salin, fig. 517i, shows that it is northern, and most of Anglo-Saxon zoomorphic art came from that source.

5. Dr. Åberg, drawing attention to the design in the middle of the foot-plate, rightly interprets it as an animal (rather frog-like in appearance) viewed from above (fig. 1a), and calls it 'einen in der angelsächsischen Kunst bisher einzigartigen Typus'. It may well be unique in Anglo-Saxon art, and that because no English brooch is known which could have served as a pattern. For a pattern *must* have been available, since this curious animal is an excellent example of a misunderstood original. It is nothing more than a pair of animals each with two legs arranged in a lozenge-shaped space around a median knob, as on the brooch from Vedstrup, Sjaelland (Corpus S. 6), which knob the copyist has retained on the Tåbingen brooch as a small lozenge in the middle of the animal's back (fig. 1b). The copyist, however, viewing the decoration as a single beast with four legs, naturally proceeded to interpret the original single heads as parts of one head and thus joined them together. There are well-known parallels to this habit of copyists, e.g. on brooches of Corpus A3 group, nos. 25-28. In short, the Tåbingen brooch has closer affinities to the northern series than to anything found in England, and there is no need to regard it as an import from there.

It would seem that this search for imports is as keen on the continental side as on our own. For acceptance of the Tåbingen brooch as an English export has led to the brooch from Engers, Hessen Nassau (Corpus S1), being viewed in the same light. Indeed I have been accused of being a lone pelican in the wilderness ('eigendommeligh . . . i Modsætning til den iøvrigt hævdyndne

¹ Bjørn Hougen, *The Migration Style of Ornament in Norway*, pls. 19 and 26.

Antagelse'). Here we meet an extraordinary position, the Finglesham brooch (Corpus, no. 1) indicating the source of the export, when we find a third brooch grouped along with Engers and Finglesham. Logically, it seems, it also must be an English export, a veritable *reductio ad absurdum*. This third brooch from Agerskov, Jutland (apparently not found in a grave, but as part of a small hoard of jewellery), was associated with some late C bracteates and others, not quite early, of the D class; the Finglesham brooch was associated with early D bracteates, but is very worn and is certainly by far the earliest object in the grave-find. The Agerskov brooch is only a fragment, lacking half the bow and the entire foot; but shows one important difference. Along the upper and lateral edges of the head-plate are gradient animals, to which feature in this position no parallel is available in this country, while its persistence in northern Europe is to be seen on the two brooches from Norway mentioned above.

It is true that one common trait of these three brooches is a small mask (mutilated at Agerskov) on the bow. If all these brooches are exports from England, Fru Eva Fett's description of the type as *allgemein* in Kent would be permissible, but if they are, as I maintain, continental, then one very poor imitation from Kent (Corpus, no. 4) becomes a minority, and the term *allgemein* loses its significance. Had I, when I first wrote about the Finglesham brooch and its connexions, known of the existence of the Agerskov parallel—it seems not to have been illustrated previously to its appearance in Dr. M. S. Mackeprang's fine monograph on *Den Nordiska Brakteater*¹—I should not have hesitated for one moment to place the homeland of this brooch-type in Jutland, and at the same time that of the rampant beast also. What is hard to understand is how Dr. Mackeprang, in full knowledge of the association of the Agerskov and Finglesham brooches with D bracteates, should follow the chorus and fail to claim all three brooches as Danish products. He cannot well say that the Agerskov bracteates are imports from Kent. In the first hundred years or so of the invasions Britain was a recipient, not a donor. The evidence for exports is not convincing.

An enamelled penannular brooch from the Scilly Isles.—Mr. B. H. St. J. O'Neil, F.S.A., contributes the following: The subject of this note (fig. 1) was found by Mr. Bert Goddard,

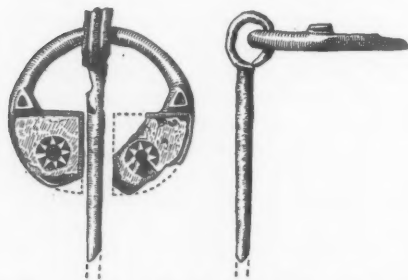


FIG. 1. Enamelled penannular brooch from Scilly. (1)

of Lower Town, St. Martin's, Isles of Scilly, who has now kindly presented it to the British Museum. Soon after the end of the war of 1914-18 he was bringing again into cultivation some fields, which had lain neglected, on the top of the island near the Plains, otherwise Bay Hill. He cannot now recall precisely where he found it, but the approximate position, as he has indicated to the writer, is at 6° 17' 38" west 49° 58' 4" north on O.S. 6 in. map Cornwall (Isles of Scilly) LXXXII NE. and SE. Dark soil and possible walling he removed in the same approximate area, and he recalls black layers interdigitated with clay and a sort of pathway of white or grey sand. He is by no means sure that the brooch was really close to these signs of human occupation, but they were in the same field, which is not large. During July 1952 the writer tested a low bank at the edge of the same field, which superficially suggested itself as part of a Dark Age house, but, although the wall which it covered was not very recent, it certainly was not as old as the brooch and was but part of a field wall.

¹ Pl. XXII, 4.

The brooch is penannular with expanded terminals, of a type which is normally regarded as zoomorphic, although the resemblance to an animal's head in specimens of this late date is scarcely perceptible. The left terminal plate is almost intact, whereas the right terminal is more badly damaged; the end of the pin is missing. Otherwise the brooch is in good condition, and could be used.

The ears of the 'animal's head' contain remains of enamel, which seems to be green, like the background of the decoration on both terminals. Of the star or daisy, which is set in this background in each case, the centres are blue, the rays yellow, and the remainder of the circles blue.

Brooches of this type are of fairly common occurrence in Ireland, and have recently been studied by Mr. H. E. Kilbride-Jones.¹ Use of millefiori enamel as a decoration is a feature, he claims, which comes late in the series, and there are examples in Mr. Kilbride-Jones's Group D which provide fair parallels for the present specimen, such as no. 62 (Castleport, Co. Donegal) and nos. 63 and 64 (no localities) on p. 435 of the article quoted. By this argument a date for manufacture in the eighth century A.D. would seem likely, but Mr. R. L. S. Bruce-Mitford has suggested a somewhat earlier date, c. A.D. 650, since millefiori decoration was certainly in use at such a time. The presence of the brooch in the Scilly Isles need cause no surprise, because the islands lie directly in the line of sailing between Ireland and north-western France. It is a feature of the archaeology of Scilly before A.D. 1000 that parallels for its monuments and finds are seldom available on the mainland of England. I am indebted to Mr. R. L. S. Bruce-Mitford, F.S.A., for advice, and to Mr. L. Monroe, F.S.A., for the drawing which accompanies this note.

A group of twelfth-century pottery and other finds from Knaresborough Castle.—Mr. Dudley Waterman contributes the following notes: Excavations at Knaresborough Castle, W.R., Yorks., in 1925–8² showed that the site had been covered to a depth of 5–8 ft. with a deposit of marl which, it was claimed, was derived from the construction or deepening of the castle ditch by Brian de Lisle in 1212.³ At one place, adjacent to the White Lady Tower, the marl was found to seal a black occupation layer, containing pottery and other objects, which to the excavators 'appeared to have been a twelfth-century horizon on the then castle site when it was covered up in the thirteenth century'.⁴ Since none of the finds, with the exception of a bone comb, received illustration in the published report on the excavations, and in view of the lack of dated early medieval pottery from the north of England, this material deserves publication in detail. I have been enabled to do so with the kind assistance of Mr. B. W. J. Kent, F.S.A., to whose first-hand knowledge of the original excavations I am much indebted.

The pottery (fig. 1). The whole of the pottery is wheel-turned, of hard, well-fired ware, mostly pink or buff in colour, sometimes with a grey core, sometimes with an external surface darkening to grey or black; a few sherds, notably no. 2 which approaches a stone ware in quality, have a grey or black body and surfaces. The texture is close and gritty, harsh to the touch, with plentiful grit appearing on the surfaces, which are speckled with particles of mica. Rilling on the shoulder of vessels is sometimes present and occurs frequently on body sherds which are otherwise too featureless for illustration. Bases are convex in varying degree and consistently show a sharp, well-moulded basal angle. On one fragment only, on the top of the rim sherd, no. 6, a drop of clear yellow glaze can be detected.

A representative series of rim-sections is figured: hooked and clubbed rims (nos. 1–6) and everted, sharply moulded rims, normally with internal bevel (nos. 7–16), all presumably of cooking-pots; and squared, flanged rims (nos. 17–18), evidently belonging to a type of large, open

¹ *Proc. R. Irish Acad.*, xliii, Section C, no. 13, pp. 379–453.

² *Y.A.J.* xxx, 200–24.

Yorkshire Charters, i, 392. The work had evidently commenced earlier: Pipe Roll of 11 John, *P.R.S.*

³ No authority given, but see Farrer, *Early* lxii (1946), 14.

⁴ *Y.A.J.* xxx, 204.

pan. The restored diameters of these pans are only approximate, owing to the small size of the surviving rim-sherds, and in no instance is it possible to obtain any indication of their depth. There is also a fragment (no. 19) of a small strap-handle with broad central groove.

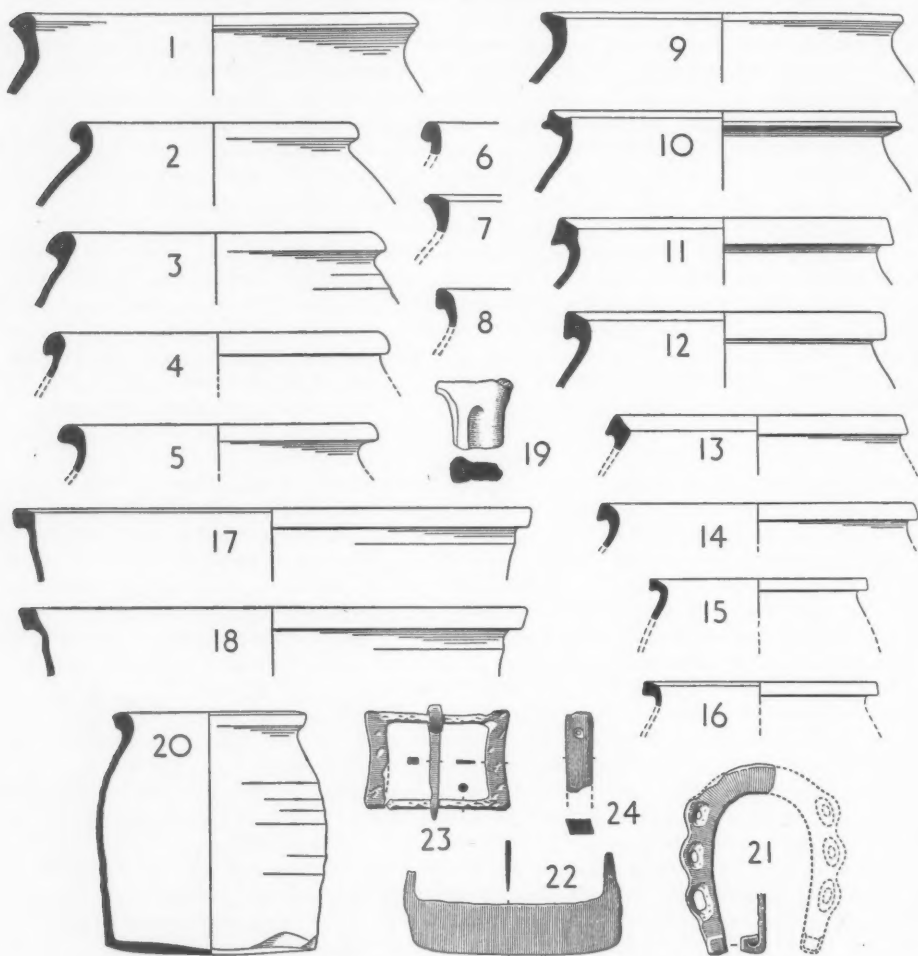


FIG. 1. Pottery and other finds from Knaresborough Castle. ($\frac{1}{4}$)

The Knaresborough Castle material may best be compared with pottery from the Mote of Hawick, Roxburghshire, associated with a silver short cross-penny of the first issue of Henry II (1154-89).¹ Cooking-pots, in harsh-surfaced grey or buff ware with thin, slightly corrugated, sides comprise the bulk of the pottery and appear to be fairly small in size, two having a rim-diameter of 6.5 in. The rims are mostly flat-topped and expanded or bevelled on the outer slope.

¹ *P.S.A.S.* xlviii (1913-14), 20-21, fig. 4.

Glazed sherds, although less numerous, were associated with the cooking pottery, one with a brownish-green glaze, another, the lip of a jug, having a thick yellow glaze on the outside. Nearer home, the Knaresborough pottery has general similarities, both in fabric and, in some cases, in form, with a cooking-pot from Kirkstall Abbey, near Leeds,¹ dated to the second half of the twelfth century, and similar pottery occurs at Castle Hill, Almondbury,² at Ilkley,³ York,⁴ and Beckwithshaw, near Harrogate.⁵ A complete cooking-pot, from Parliament Street, York,⁶ is illustrated (no. 20); it is in hard, buff-brown clay with lumpy gritted surfaces, having corrugated walls and uneven, slightly convex base, knife-trimmed around the edge.

The later development of this class of pottery is perhaps to be found in a number of small cooking-pots, with ribbed or corrugated sides, usually unglazed but occasionally with splashes of green glaze on the upper part, characteristic of sites in northern England and the Scottish Lowlands during the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. Such pottery is represented at York,⁷ at the mound of Kidsneuk, Ayrshire,⁸ and, associated with coins deposited c. 1300, at Old Fort, Ayr.⁹ The distinctive elements of these vessels—ribbed surface, rim form, and restricted use of glaze—can all be paralleled on pottery recently found at Carrickfergus Castle, Co. Antrim,¹⁰ and suggests that the distribution of this general type of pottery extended to the Anglo-Norman area of east Ulster.

Other objects. Associated with the pottery from Knaresborough Castle were a number of iron objects, including two horseshoes (one now lost, the other illustrated, no. 21), a spokeshave (no. 22), and a large, plain buckle (no. 23). The surviving horseshoe has a sinuous edge with large, countersunk depressions and turn-over calkins, and is of a type which is known to occur in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.¹¹ A whetstone, provided with a perforation, of hour-glass shape, for suspension, was also present (no. 24); it is of grey, fine-grained quartz-mica granulite, a material, it has been suggested, which can be satisfactorily matched with rocks from Aberdeenshire.¹² The bone comb, already referred to, now appears to be lost, but from a published illustration¹³ seems to have been of the single-edged variety; it had apparently been broken in antiquity when the fractured end was squared off to enable the comb to be re-used. There is no reason why this object should not be contemporary with the other finds from the black occupation layer; although single-edged combs are known from late pagan Saxon graves in Cambridgeshire,¹⁴ for example, and became the leading type in the Viking age, they certainly continued in use well into medieval times.¹⁵

¹ *Thoresby Soc. Pub.* (1952), 20, fig. 6, 1.

² *Ibid.*, 23, fig. 6, 2, 6–8. ³ *Ibid.*, 23, fig. 6, 3, 5.

⁴ Yorkshire Museum, York, unpublished.

⁵ In possession of Mr. B. W. J. Kent.

⁶ Yorkshire Museum, York.

⁷ Yorkshire Museum, York, unpublished.

⁸ *P.S.A.S.* lii (1917–18), 67, fig. 2.

⁹ *P.S.A.S.* lvi (1922), 30, fig. 4, 3.

¹⁰ *U.F.A.*, xv, 113, fig. 6.

¹¹ London Museum *Medieval Catalogue*, 112–15.

¹² A petrographical examination of the whetstone, together with other Yorkshire examples, was carried out by Mrs. J. E. Morey and Prof. K. C. Dunham at the Geological Survey and Museum; their full report will appear in *Proc. Yorks. Geol. Soc.*, forthcoming. The Knaresborough whetstone was included in a list of mica-schist hones published by Mr. G. C. Dunning in *Rep. Research Comm.* no. xv, 232, and there, on my information, erroneously attributed to the filling of the castle ditch.

¹³ *Y.A.J.* xxx, pl. opp. p. 209.

¹⁴ T. C. Lethbridge, 'Recent Excavations in Anglo-Saxon Cemeteries in Cambridgeshire and Suffolk' (*Camb. Antiq. Soc., Quarto Pub.*, N.S., no. 3, 1931), figs. 25, 1; 34; 36, 5. Similar combs have been found in seventh-century graves in Kent; Fausset, *Inventarium Sepulchrale*, pl. XIII, 2–4.

¹⁵ The later development of combs, either single or double, has not been studied in this country, where datable material is lacking. For Sweden, however, there is Blomqvist's study, based on the extensive series from Lund (Kulturen Museum, *Arsbok* (1942), 133–62) and in Norway, Grieg's treatment of the finds from Bergen and Oslo (*Middelalderske Byfund*, 223–41). Two single-edged combs have lately been found in late-thirteenth to early-fourteenth century deposits at Clough Castle, Co. Down: *U.F.A.*, forthcoming.

Medieval pottery from Chapel St. Leonards, Lincs.—Mr. F. H. Thompson contributes the following: The scouring effect of the tides along the Lincolnshire coast occasionally reveals traces of past human occupation which are normally hidden by the thick Marshland clay or overlying sand. The occupation dates at least from the Early Iron Age at Ingoldmells, where the population seems to have been engaged in salt-making; near by, a Romano-British site extending into the third century denotes subsequent activity.¹ The present discovery carries the story on into the middle ages, when the process of active erosion and inundation of all these sites seems to have begun.

The group of medieval pottery here described reached the City and County Museum, Lincoln, through the good offices of Mr. D. Shapland, Chief Librarian at the Central Public Library, Mansfield, to whom it had been referred for an opinion by its finders, Mr. and Mrs. T. A. Harrison of Mansfield Woodhouse, Notts. The circumstances of the discovery, as described to the writer by letter, seem to have been that Mr. and Mrs. Harrison noticed the pottery protruding from the clay on the beach at Trunch Lane, Chapel St. Leonards, after a high tide in August 1951, and extracted as much as possible. (The actual point of discovery was just below high-tide mark some 25 yards north of the first breakwater to the south of Hollands Gap, where Trunch Lane reaches the shore—O.S. 6 in. Sheet LXXVI SE. and National Grid Reference 568709.) No structural remains were observed in close association with the pottery, but on the south side of the breakwater Mr. Harrison observed 'earthworks like parallel jetties of equal width and equal distance apart'. According to Mrs. E. H. Rudkin, who is engaged on a study of the Lincolnshire salterns, these are most likely to have been medieval artificial channels up which the brine flowed at high tide in preparation for the evaporation process.

At least twelve vessels are represented in the group, all apparently contemporary and comprising the two main medieval types, jugs and cooking-pots. The jugs are largely incomplete, but sufficient remains to indicate that their bodies were broad and globular with sagging bases, the edges of which are marked at intervals by groups of superimposed thumb-impressions; the latter were presumably of little functional value in steadying the pots as they do not reach to the lowest level. More remains of the cooking-pots, and it has proved possible to make a complete restoration of one (fig. 1, 3) which typifies the smaller variety. This is globular and broad in relation to its height with sagging base and everted, slightly thickened rim; the ware is hard and sandy in texture with a light brown or orange-brown surface, while sooting on the lower half of the vessels denotes use over an open fire. The larger type is of similar general proportions and rim shape (fig. 1, 2), but the base rises gently to the centre (as evidenced by a vessel which was complete except for its rim and has not been illustrated) and the ware is softer and smoother with a plentiful backing of crushed shell or chalk, which gives the pale grey and brown surface a speckled appearance.

The dating of the deposit must rest on comparison with similar types from dated sites elsewhere, although documentary evidence for inundation by the sea in this area may provide corroborative detail in the shape of a possible *terminus ante quem*. Squat globular jugs with sagging bases and thumbing which does not reach to the lowest level appear early in the thirteenth century,² and are still in use towards the close of that century;³ the same general type, but with groups of thumbing at intervals, seems to have appeared by the middle of the thirteenth⁴ and persists into the early years of the fourteenth century.⁵ There are fewer parallels for the cooking-pots, but in general appearance they are not unlike mid-thirteenth-century cooking-pots from Selsey Common, near Stroud,⁶ though it is not claimed that they have anything but a formal affinity with West Country types. Finally, Mr. G. C. Dunning, in conversation with the writer,

¹ *Antiq. Journ.*, xii, 239-53.

² *Antiq. Journ.*, xv, 320, figs. 2 and 3.

³ *Arch.*, lxxxiii, 108, fig. 5, P22 and P30.

⁴ *Proc. I. of Wight N. H. and A. S.*, ii, 128, fig. 2.

⁵ *Num. Chron.*, 1936, p. 155.

⁶ *Trans. B. and G. A. S.*, lxxviii, p. 30 and fig. 2.

expressed the opinion that the Chapel St. Leonards group as a whole belonged to the thirteenth century. Thus the body of evidence points to a thirteenth-century date for the pottery, and perhaps, if greater precision is demanded, to a date in the second half of that century.

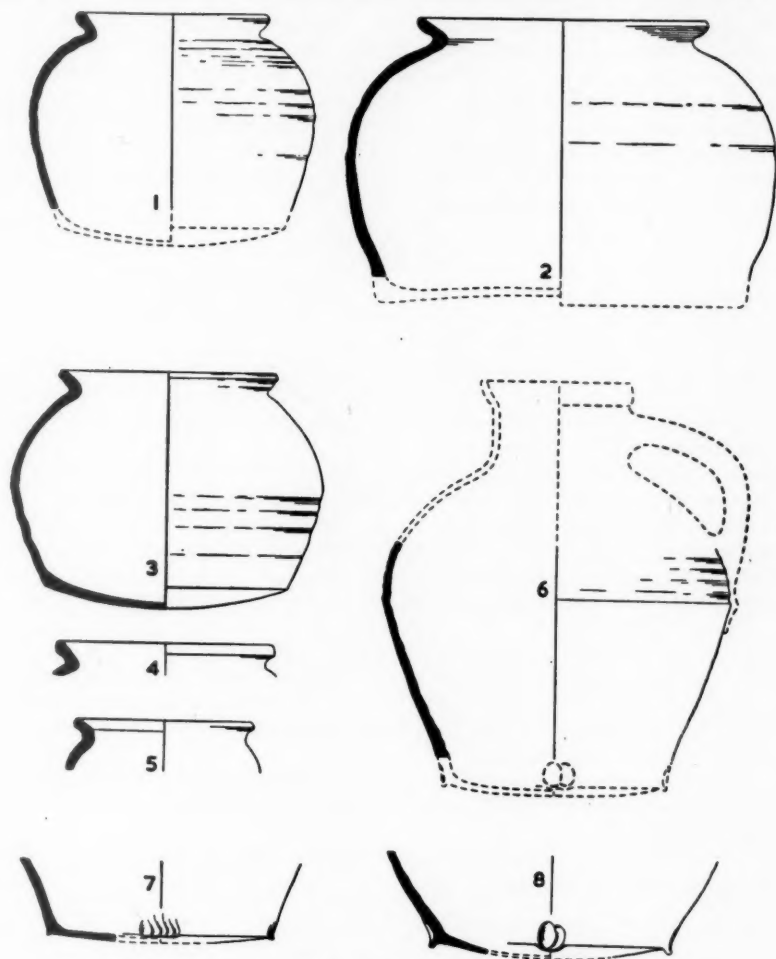


FIG. 1. Medieval pottery from Chapel St. Leonards, Lincs. ($\frac{1}{8}$)

It was at this period that this stretch of the Lincolnshire coast seems to have lost its protective off-shore barrier, possibly through an actual land-subsidence, and became exposed to the full force of the North Sea, with consequent destruction to coastal settlement.¹ Actual inundations are recorded for the years 1236, 1254, and 1257,² but the most memorable seems to have been that

¹ H. H. Swinnerton and P. E. Kent, *The Geology of Lincolnshire*, p. 111.

² Pishey Thompson, *The History and Antiquities of Boston*, p. 44 (quoting Stowe's *Chronicle*).

of the night of New Year's Day, 1287, when, according to Stowe, 'the parts called Holland' were 'turned into a standing pool'¹ and, in the words of another chronicle, the church of St. Peter at Mablethorpe *Dirupta est . . . fluctibus maris*.² Between 1250 and 1350 the Marshland district of Norfolk was flooded some twelve times and Kesteven and Holland were probably affected quite as frequently, although failure to keep dikes in repair may have been as much responsible as the violence of the sea.³ Certainly, whatever the character of the settlement denoted by the pottery under discussion, there seems little doubt that by the end of the thirteenth century its inhabitants must have felt that their tenure of the site was too precarious to be continued.

The writer's thanks are due to Mr. T. A. Harrison for presenting the pottery to the City and County Museum, Lincoln, and so making it available for study, to Mrs. E. H. Rudkin for help with historical references to the Lincolnshire coast in the middle ages, and to Mr. G. C. Dunning, F.S.A., for help with references to the pottery.

THE POTTERY

- FIG. 1, 1. Cooking-pot in sandy, dark grey ware with light orange-brown surface. Plain, everted rim, rounded on outer edge. Globular body with shallow horizontal rilling on upper part. Restored with sagging base.
2. Large cooking-pot in black ware with backing of crushed white shell or chalk, fired to pale grey and brown on surface. Plain everted rim with rounded outer edge. Squat globular body with occasional shallow horizontal rilling. Base rising gently to centre—restored from almost identical vessel without rim.
 3. Cooking-pot in sandy, light grey ware with light brown surface. Plain everted rim with shallow groove on outer edge. Globular body with shallow horizontal rilling on lower half. Pronounced sagging base.
 4. Cooking-pot rim. Black ware with backing of crushed white shell or chalk and light grey surface. Plain everted rim with vertical outer edge.
 5. Cooking-pot rim. Sandy, dark grey ware with light red-brown surface. Plain everted rim on short vertical neck.
 6. Body of broad, globular jug in sandy, grey ware with pink surface. Cream slip on outer surface and light, brown-green glaze above maximum girth. Shallow horizontal rilling on upper part culminating in sloping ledge at maximum girth. Cylindrical neck and collared rim restored from similar jugs from Flaxengate, Lincoln, excavations, 1947 (in Lincoln Museum—unpublished).
 7. Base of jug in sandy, black ware with pink inner and orange-pink outer surface. Sagging base with four groups of 'fluted' thumbing, each consisting of five partially superimposed thumb-impressions.
 8. Base of jug in sandy, grey ware fired pink, with cream slip on outer surface. Sagging base with four groups of double thumbing.

A dated medieval jug from Hemswell, Lincs.—Mr. F. H. Thompson sends the following note: The medieval jug here figured was one of the early acquisitions of the City and County Museum, Lincoln,⁴ having been presented in February 1907, shortly before the formal opening of the museum in the same year. It was acquired by the original curator, Mr. A. Smith, from Dr. W. J. Cant of Lincoln, together with a number of prehistoric and Roman objects,⁵ apparently

¹ Pishey Thompson, *loc. cit.*

² *Chronicon Abbatie de Parco Lude, sub anno* 1287 (ed. E. Venables and A. R. Maddison, 1891).

³ H. C. Darby, *The Medieval Fenland*, pp. 57–60.

⁴ Lincoln Museum Accession No. 11.07.

⁵ Lincoln Museum Accession Nos. 9–23.07.

as the result of an advertisement appealing for the gift to the museum of any local antiquities in private possession.

The special interest which attaches to the jug is that it bears near the neck a small label reading 'Dug up at Hemswell with halfpenny of Edward III', which, if the information can be taken at its face value, places the vessel firmly in the fourteenth century. Hemswell itself is a village some eleven miles north of Lincoln, standing on the lower slopes of the Cliff or limestone scarp. Unfortunately the years which have elapsed since the original presentation, to which may probably be added an unknown number since its first discovery, and the decease of the persons involved have made it impossible to confirm the identification of the coin, which is missing, or the genuineness of the association. A letter dated 22nd February 1907 from Mrs. Cant to Mr. Smith, inviting him to inspect the objects in her husband's possession, survives in the museum files, but does not give any further information, nor does the museum accession book add anything of value.

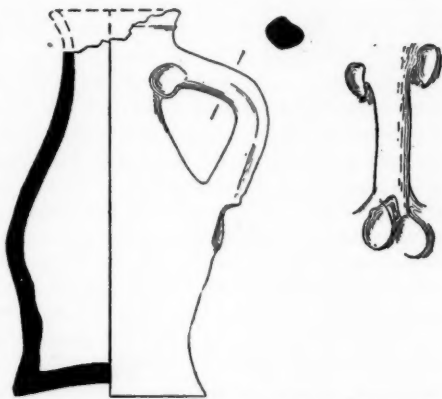


FIG. 1. A dated medieval jug from Hemswell, Lincs. (4)

The jug is roughly biconical in shape and just over 8 in. in height; it is of a hard, gritty, pink ware with a thick cream slip. The rim is plain with a shallow moulding below it, and the handle, roughly round in section, has two thumb impressions at both top and bottom. It is apparently a coarsened version of a type dated in London to the latter part of the thirteenth century,¹ and its persistence into the fourteenth century in Lincolnshire may be explained either on the grounds of its continuing popularity as a drinking rather than a pouring vessel² or because of provincial conservatism.

¹ London Museum *Medieval Catalogue*, p. 214 and fig. 69, 1.

² *Ibid.*, p. 215.

REVIEWS

Radio Carbon Dating. By WILLARD F. LIBBY. 9×6. Pp. vii+124. University of Chicago Press, 1952. \$3.50.

Libby's book provides a complete description of the technique of radiocarbon dating. It has been written mainly for the benefit of the laboratory worker who intends to set up apparatus of his own, and all the required details are given, including (for the benefit of American readers) the names of firms providing some of the materials. In the second place the book is addressed to the archaeologist. He will find it hard to follow the technical chapters, unless he happens to be familiar with a few principles of atomic physics. But many of the paragraphs relating to the treatment of samples and the process of analysis are sufficiently general to provide useful information to the ordinary reader. The technical chapters are followed by a list of radiocarbon dates and by a final chapter on the significance of the dates for archaeologists and geologists, written by Frederick Johnson. This chapter is the one of most immediate interest to the archaeologist.

Principles. As is by now well known, radiocarbon dating depends on the presence in the atmosphere of a small amount of carbon of the atomic weight 14. It is formed by the impact of neutrons formed by cosmic radiation on atmospheric nitrogen and is slightly heavier than ordinary, non-radioactive carbon (atomic weight 12). Atmospheric carbon enters into the constitution of living organic matter, which therefore has the same ratio of C^{14} to C^{12} as is found in the atmosphere. But after death the radioactive carbon contained in the tissues decays so that after about 5,570 years only half the original amount is left. It is on this vanishing of C^{14} from organic material that the age estimates are based. At present, specimens up to about 20,000 years old can be dated, but the prospects of extending the range are limited by the fact that the radioactivity of C^{14} is very weak.

The application of the method to fossil material implies that certain conditions are fulfilled. The molecules of radioactive carbon dioxide must be evenly distributed in the atmosphere. Libby considers that uniform distribution would in any case be reached within 500 years, in spite of the greater intensity of radiation in the polar regions. He has also satisfied himself that cosmic radiation, if averaged over 1,000 years or so, has remained at a constant rate over the period of archaeological age estimates.

A difficulty which the reviewer has stressed since 1950 is the possibility of selective intake of C^{14} . Since Nier's discovery that another isotope of carbon (C^{13}) is favoured compared with C^{12} in the formation of carbonates, it has become conceivable that certain organic compounds may contain different proportions of C^{14} . This has now been confirmed by measurement. Wood and other organic tissues contain somewhat less than sea-shell; the number of atomic disintegrations per gramme per minute being 15.3 for wood and 16.2 for sea-shell. These are 'zero' values for recent material; fossil material yields values lower in accordance with their age. It is important to realize, therefore, that zero values are not the same for all kinds of organic carbon compounds and it will be necessary to determine a much larger number than has hitherto been done. It is possible, for instance, that land shells and different species of wood do not all exhibit exactly the same present-day value. At the moment, most age estimates are based on the first of the two average values just given.

Libby has, however, made sure that the average activity is much the same on different geographical latitudes. This is evident from his Table 2 (p. 14) which contains the individual samples on which the average value of 15.3 for organic tissue is based. In earlier publications the value of 12.5 was used, but the absolute efficiency of the counters has since been improved and a correction has been applied to the earlier figure published by Libby, Anderson, and Arnold in 1949 (*Science*,

vol. cix, p. 227). In this table two misprints of Latin names occur, namely *Fraxinus* (recte *Fraxinus*) and *Nothafagus* (recte *Nothofagus*).

Half-life of radiocarbon and measurement of dated samples. The accuracy of the translation of the measured activity of the samples into years depends on the value for the half-life of C^{14} . This, therefore, has to be determined as carefully as possible. Libby and his collaborators have paid considerable attention to its exact determination and a detailed survey of the position is to be found in Chapter 3. The value of $5,568 \pm 30$ years is considered the most reliable. This is slightly lower than another ($5,720 \pm 47$ years) put forward by Engelkemeir *et al.* in 1949 (*Phys. Rev.*, vol. lxxv, p. 1825) and used by Libby in his earlier publications. Whilst Libby's authority on the reliability of various methods must be accepted and his reasons for preferring the lower value are fully appreciated, it must be pointed out that the tests carried out on archaeologically dated material appear to favour the higher value.

Seven specimens of known archaeological date have been used: a tree-ring sample from New Mexico (A.D. 580), wood from a Ptolemaic coffin (200 ± 150 B.C.), wood from the Syro-Hittite palace at Tayinat in Syria (675 ± 50 B.C.), *Sequoia* wood from California (979 ± 52 B.C.), wood from the tomb of Sesostri III (1800 B.C.), from the tomb of Sneferu at Mejdum (2625 ± 75 B.C.), and from the tomb of Zoser at Sakkara (2700 ± 75 B.C.). If these values, known from historical evidence, are plotted on the time-scale against their radioactivity dates, as found in Libby's laboratory (his fig. 1, p. 9), they are found to lie very close to the curve representing the decay of C^{14} as based on the half-life value of 5,568 years. But six of the values lie slightly above this curve and only one below, a distribution which does not look like random. The points would fit more closely to a curve corresponding to a slightly higher half-life figure. This is borne out by an earlier version of the same diagram published by Arnold and Libby in 1949 (*Science*, vol. cx, p. 679) in which the half-life of 5720 was used. Of the six values plotted, three lie above and three below the curve.

It is, therefore, very desirable that more work on the half-life of radiocarbon be carried out, and Libby himself stresses this, saying that preferably techniques entirely different from his own should be used. From the archaeologist's point of view a small alteration in the half-life may have a significant effect on the dates, especially in such periods as the Neolithic and Bronze Age, where very close dating will be required.

The preservation of the sample. A vital requirement of radiocarbon dating is that the specimen that is placed in the apparatus to be analysed should contain only carbon atoms that were present in the sample at the time when the organic matter died. Since chemical processes, putrefaction, and contamination with foreign organic matter are very liable to occur while the specimen lies in the ground, the geological context as well as the condition of the specimen must be considered with great care. Specimens taken from rock-graves in the dry zone, such as those from Egypt, are in the top category. Furthermore, wood, and especially charcoal from wood with its large cellulose molecules, is less likely to have suffered alteration than soft and possibly decayed organic matter. In shell, too, it is possible that chemical replacement has taken place. These obvious sources of erroneous dates are far too often disregarded by archaeologists and it will be necessary to carry out laboratory work in order to assess the probable modifying influences of these processes. Many results from wood, grass, and even peat have proved satisfactory, though not all. Sample no. 450, for instance, of peat from a grenzhorizont accurately dated at 2,500–2,700 years, from north-west Germany, yielded a radiocarbon age of only $1,449 \pm 200$ years. Other peat samples, those from the Alleröd oscillation, have yielded figures around 11,000 years. But a calcareous organic mud from Hockham Mere, Norfolk, of similar age produced a radiocarbon date of only $6,555 \pm 280$ years. This is much too young, but the material belonged to the less satisfactory category of organic matter in which decay and substitution may have taken place.

Briefly, the materials for C^{14} dating are classified by Libby according to their suitability as follows:

1. Charcoal and charred organic matter, such as heavily burnt bone.
2. Well-preserved wood.
3. Grasses, cloth, and peat.
4. Well-preserved antler and similar hairy structures.
5. Well-preserved shell.

Bone is regarded as unsuitable.

Preparation of the samples for measurement. This consists of the following steps: physical cleaning and removal of contaminated portions, treatment with hydrochloric acid for removal of calcium carbonate (unless the specimen consists of shell), development of carbon dioxide by controlled burning in oxygen or, if shell, the addition of hydrochloric acid. The gas produced is impure since it also contains oxides of nitrogen and sulphur, radon and other radioactive gases, and products of incomplete combustion. The carbon dioxide must, therefore, be reabsorbed into calcium carbonate, which is treated with hydrochloric acid to obtain purified carbon dioxide. This is finally reduced by burning magnesium in it, an operation carried out in an iron cylinder at temperatures of 660°C . and over. At these temperatures the magnesium takes oxygen from the carbon dioxide, leaving pure carbon with magnesium ash and certain impurities contained in the magnesium metal. Finally the ash and the impurities are partly removed by washing operations, carried out as carefully as possible, and the percentage of ash remaining in the carbon is calculated. It is usually less than 10 per cent., but the origin of the ash is not yet fully explained. Its presence in the sample is an awkward feature of the technique used by Libby.

This enumeration of the steps to be taken in the preparation of the sample shows that the technique is by no means simple. Furthermore, owing to the number of steps, sources of error are present which require very careful operations to avoid. The size of the sample to be burnt varies with the material. It must be large enough to yield between 10 and 12 grammes of elementary carbon. Of charcoal about 25 gm. is sufficient for a single test, but in the case of shell, at least 100 gm. are required. In practice the quantities submitted should be considerably larger than the figures just given.

Measurement of the sample. The measurement of the radioactivity of the sample is carried out in a tube called a Geiger counter. An electric wire runs through the middle of it and is charged with a current, whilst the carbon is distributed on the wall in a layer sufficiently thick to give the maximum number of records of disintegration of C^{14} atoms. The carbon is made into a paste which is painted on the inside of a cylinder that slips into the Geiger counter, in itself a somewhat unsatisfactory operation, the difficulties of which appear to have been overcome in Libby's laboratory. But this, and the problem of contamination with ash, have induced several workers to experiment with gas counters using, instead of solid carbon, carbon dioxide or some other gaseous carbon compound. In the counter, every disintegration of a carbon atom causes an electrical jerk, so to speak, in the current running through the wire and this is amplified and recorded by means of Scaling Units. (These, an important part of the apparatus, are not described in the book.)

The Geiger counter is surrounded by eleven other counters recording radioactive radiation coming in from outside, and the entire arrangement is surrounded by shielding of lead or steel. These precautions are very necessary since the 'background' of outside radiation is of the order of 500 counts per minute, compared with the maximum of 16 counts to be expected from the carbon sample. Every effort has to be made to reduce the background and to record exactly its size. The lead or steel shielding reduces it, and the 'anti-coincidence counters' record what comes through the shielding. In the scaling unit the background is automatically deducted from the total recorded. It goes without saying that the counter has to be carefully cleaned each time.

The counting period is at present 48 hours. If it were made longer, more accurate results could be obtained. Little work has so far been done in this respect, mainly because of the number of samples to be tested is much too large to permit long counting periods.

Radiocarbon dates. The list of radiocarbon dates contained in Libby's book consists of all the results obtained up to 1st September 1951. A new list, containing results up to September 1952, is at present in the press. The samples analysed were selected for their archaeological or geological interest by a team of workers comprising Frederick Johnson, Donald Collier, Richard Foster Flint, and Froelich Rainey. Many results of great archaeological value are contained in this list, such as the age of the pre-ceramic agricultural site of Jarmo in Iraq ($6,707 \pm 320$ years) and that of grain from Fayum A sites ($6,095 \pm 250$ and $6,391 \pm 180$ years). The famous Dead Sea scrolls of the Book of Isaiah found in a cave near Ain Fashkha in Jordan were dated from their linen wrappings at $1,917 \pm 200$ years ago. The Allerød oscillation has been dated in a number of places; at Wallensen, north-west Germany ($11,044 \pm 500$), at Knock Nacren, Ireland ($11,310 \pm 720$), at Neasham, England ($10,851 \pm 630$), and Hawks Tor, England ($9,861 \pm 500$). These figures are in excellent agreement with the varve dating for the Central Swedish Moraine obtained by de Geer and his collaborators. The advance of the ice that led to the formation of this moraine brought the Allerød phase to an end. It occurred on varve evidence about 9,860 years ago. The Hawks Tor value, therefore, appears to be somewhat low, and there are several other radiocarbon dates from the Allerød period which are even lower. I mention this to point out that radiocarbon dates are not always right. For the wooden platform of the Mesolithic site of Starr Carr in Yorkshire, so ably excavated by J. G. D. Clark, an age of 9,488 years was obtained. This is the average of two counts, one of which yielded $10,167 \pm 560$ years and the other only $8,808 \pm 490$ years. This illustrates the sort of differences that may be encountered in successive determinations on the same material. Finally, Stonehenge may be mentioned. A charcoal sample taken from Aubrey Hole 32 yielded $3,798 \pm 275$ years, which is consistent with the late Neolithic age assigned to this part of the monument. The list further contains many results from America.

An amusing item is lotus seeds (*Nelumbo* sp.) from a fossil peat of south Manchuria. Although, according to radiocarbon dating, they are $1,040 \pm 210$ years old, several hundred of them were successfully germinated. These are by far the oldest seeds to have been germinated, for the Egyptian grain reputed to have been virile has never been proved to be so. The seeds of *Nelumbo* and other water-lilies have exceptionally thick and dense outer shells. This is perhaps the reason for their survival.

Comments by Frederick Johnson. The American results are discussed in the concluding chapter, which also draws attention to some of the difficulties of the technique and to the proper way of interpretation of radiocarbon estimates. It might be added that the 'error' given with the result (e.g. ± 150 yrs.) is apt to mislead the archaeological interpreter. These figures are not the limits between which the correct date must lie. They are the standard deviation (σ) and consist solely of the error of counting random radioactive disintegrations. One σ implies that there is a two-to-one chance that the date lies between the limits given in so far as radioactive disintegrations are concerned, and it does not include errors due to other factors.

Johnson points out that the determination of the age of the Folsom industry in North America is now in sight. It seems to lie in the neighbourhood of 10,000 years ago. The Yuma arrow-points, considered by some as contemporary with the Folsom industry, appear to be somewhat younger ($7,715 \pm 740$). Another early industry is the Cochise of south-west U.S.A., which ranges from $8,660 \pm 300$ years to $5,737 \pm 250$ years.

An interesting example of how geological uncertainties enter into the picture provided by radiocarbon dates is Tepexpan Man from the Valley of Mexico. De Terra considers it as contemporary with the peat with which the skeleton was associated. The C^{14} age of the peat is

11,003 \pm 500 years. A piece of wood from the same deposit, however, turns out to be older than 16,000 years. On the other hand, if the skeleton came into the peat from above, it would be older than a layer of aquatic plants above it, with an average age of 4,188 \pm 300 years. In this case, clearly, only the exact geological position would be decisive. Since Libby's book appeared, the discovery of a mammoth skeleton associated with stone tools (Aveleine *et al.*, *Rev. Mex. Est. Antrop.* xiii, 1952) has superseded the Tepexpan evidence. The provisional C¹⁴ date for this remarkable find is 10,000–12,000 years. Man, therefore, was indeed present in Mexico at a time slightly earlier than any hitherto considered. In reading Johnson's account, this fact has to be kept in mind.

In South America, burnt bone of giant sloth, horse, and guanaco was found associated with human bones and artifacts in Palli Aike Cave in Chile. Its radiocarbon age is 8,639 \pm 450 years. This figure is valuable in suggesting the time of arrival of man at the tip of South America. There are thus enough dates now available to say that man was present in America 10,000–12,000 years ago. There is a tendency to regard this virtually as the time of his arrival, but this may prove to be untrue. About this time the Mankato readvance of the North American ice-sheet occurred which, on radiocarbon evidence, is well dated at about 11,000 years ago. It thus becomes contemporary with the Central Swedish Moraine of Europe. There is no certain evidence that man was present in America when this readvance occurred, except for the provisional date for the Istapan mammoth. If this is accepted (as many workers in U.S.A. are inclined to do) as virtually the time of his arrival, man would have spread over the entire continent in a surprisingly short time. No doubt more radiocarbon dates will be obtained for prehistoric America. In spite of the present enthusiasm for the dates already put forward, the possibility of human immigration during the Two Creeks interval (corresponding to the Allerød), or even earlier, should not be overlooked, a possibility which has gained in importance since Libby's book was published, as a result of the Istapan finds. It would have left him a little more time to spread to the extreme confines of Chile.

In conclusion, I wish to recommend this book to all interested in C¹⁴ dating. It is useful for the pure archaeologist to realize the technical problems involved in the work, and it shows also how necessary it is to have the samples selected by experts before they are submitted for analysis, in order to avoid much unnecessary work. Today Dr. Libby's laboratory is no longer the only one. Several others have started work, both in the United States and in Europe, some using their own variants of the technique. It will be extremely interesting in this respect to pursue the developments of the near future. In particular, if a suggestion be made, it would be worth while to have the same samples analysed in different laboratories. This would undoubtedly help to assess both the reliability of the method concerned and the significance of the results. F. E. ZEUNER

The Hittites. By O. R. GURNEY. 7½ × 4½. Pp. xv + 240. Pelican Books A 259. London: Penguin Books, 1952. 3s. 6d.

Dr. Gurney's Pelican is published at an opportune moment, when there is a revival of interest in Near Eastern archaeological discovery. Hitherto there has been no concise and up-to-date account of the Hittites available in English. All aspects of their civilization—history, social life, law, methods of warfare, language, religion, literature, and art—are now admirably treated by Dr. Gurney with the useful addition of a thirteen-page bibliography. Students should be especially grateful for the section entitled 'Some problems' where theories such as the possible existence of elements in Hittite art which can be ascribed to the Hurrian people are touched upon, but the lack of supporting evidence for these theories is duly emphasized. Similarly attention is drawn to the apparent contradiction between the appearance of the Hittites on Egyptian monuments and the craniological evidence from excavation, but naturally enough no solution is offered.

It is perhaps inevitable in a Pelican that some aspect of the subject should receive somewhat cursory treatment, and therefore the fact that we have to be content with a statement that 'For the period of the Old Kingdom there is little to show but potters' vessels' may, but should not, dismay archaeologists who can elaborate this statement by reference to excavation reports and special studies. But it is not easy to accept the author's description of the Alaja 'sun discs' as 'a series of "standards" (their purpose is unknown)' (p. 195) when the suggestion was made some years ago that they are in fact rein-rings, which were probably attached to the front of chariots. The two hooks which provide the clue to their purpose appear on nearly all the examples, but unfortunately while the Alaja material is briefly listed as evidence for pre-Hittite art it is not included among the illustrations.

But these are minor points. In warmly welcoming this book the reviewer also welcomes the fact that it should be first published by Penguin Books at so modest a price. At a time when complaints are constantly heard that learned works are beyond the resources of the ordinary student, it is most heartening to find that a scholarly book with good illustrations, which compares in all respects most favourably with its German and French counterparts, can be attractively published at a price within everyone's reach.

K. R. MAXWELL-HYSLOP

Babylon: die versunkene Weltstadt und ihr Ausgräber Robert Koldewey. Von WALTER ANDRAE. 7¼ × 5. Pp. 252. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1952. DM. 18.40.

The title of this well-produced book is slightly misleading. It is in fact an account of the life of Robert Koldewey with details of the numerous excavations at which he assisted or directed, although his work at Babylon was admittedly his greatest achievement. Students will find less information (none of it new) about the German excavations at Babylon than in Koldewey's own *Das Wiedererstehende Babylon* or the more easily accessible English translation. But as a picture of German archaeological work in the Near East from 1882 to 1913 culminating in the transportation to Berlin of the entire Ishtar Gate, it is interesting and instructive. German activity during these years was impressive, and Koldewey's work in the spheres of exploration, excavation, and the recording of existing monuments gives English readers a fair idea of the varied opportunities open to students to gain experience of the different archaeological problems in countries as far removed as Sicily and Babylonia. This was not an age of specialization as Koldewey's career shows, for he was originally trained as an architect. He himself seems to have regretted this, cf. his own remarks quoted on page 77, 'the architect is an unhappy hybrid between scholar and artist', but his achievement by any standard was considerable. One has only to consider the contribution to Near Eastern studies made by the many other archaeologists of all nationalities who were originally trained as architects to be led to contest his view. Today, indeed, when different branches of learning tend to isolate themselves in narrow compartments, we may well need not fewer but more archaeologists who have received their initial training in this or some kindred broad and humane discipline.

K. R. MAXWELL-HYSLOP

A Forgotten Kingdom, being a record of the results obtained from the Excavation of two mounds, Atchana and Al Mina, in the Turkish Hatay. By Sir LEONARD WOOLLEY. 7¼ × 4½. Pp. 200. Pelican Books A 261. London: Penguin Books, 1953. 2s. 6d.

Readers of this journal will already be familiar with Sir Leonard Woolley's preliminary reports on his excavations at Tell Atchana in the Turkish Hatay. In this attractive little book the distinguished excavator presents to a wider public the results of his work at this and other sites

in the vicinity. From the beginning the fascination of the book consists largely in the engaging frankness with which the author describes how he solved the many problems that presented themselves. The first of these was the choice of a site, in which the main consideration was 'to illustrate the passage of influences' between the powerful kingdoms of Babylon, Assyria, Hatti, and Egypt. Excavations at Al Mina, the ancient port of Poseideium at the mouth of the Orontes, established the disappointing fact that all the earlier levels had been washed away by a change in the course of the river, and the expedition accordingly moved inland to Atchana in the Amq plain. But Atchana itself was found to be no older than about 3000 B.C. However, this problem, too, was solved by soundings carried out at two small mounds nearby, Tell esh Sheikh and Tabara el Akrad, and the whole complex of mounds eventually provided a more or less continuous record of human occupation from the Neolithic age to the thirteenth century A.D.

Among the most interesting archaeological results of this enterprise have been the discovery in Level VII (identified from written documents with the Amorite kingdom of Yamkhad) of buildings with architectural features foreshadowing the later palaces of Minoan Crete; and the fact that throughout the fifth century B.C. the Greek pottery imported into Syria (then a Persian satrapy) was exclusively Athenian, at the very time when Athens was fighting for her life against the Persian Empire. More controversial, but equally interesting, is Sir Leonard's interpretation of the sanctuary of Level V which is sunk below ground level, as a primitive Mithraeum.

Sir Leonard's theory of the origin of the Hittites in the Caucasus, based on the distribution of the Khirbet Kerak pottery, is a little confused, since he fails to distinguish between the Caucasian 'Hattians' and the Indo-European 'Hittites' or 'Nesians'; it also seems to the present writer somewhat far-fetched, depending as it does on the presence of one sherd of this ware in each of the Alaca tombs, for the ware is otherwise unknown in Anatolia. The statement on p. 34 that the Hittites could not have entered Anatolia directly from the Caucasus on account of the successive barriers of mountain chains running north by south is plainly incorrect, since the mountain chains run east by west, and form a convenient corridor through which passed a famous trade route.

The author defends Sidney Smith's dating of King Idri-mi and assigns to him the rebuilding of the citadel following the destruction of the palace of Level IV. However, recently published texts¹ have now established a synchronism between Idri-mi of Alalakh, Pilliya of Kizzuwadna, and Zidanza of Hatti, thus clearly proving the earlier date for Idri-mi. It seems, then, that the 'house' which he 'caused to be built', according to his autobiography, is the earlier part of the great palace of Level IV, and its extension must be assigned to Niqmepa; for tablets of Idri-mi, Niqmepa, and Ilmilimma were found in it. The correlation of the burning of the palace with the revolt against Idri-mi's father would then no longer be possible; but other similar correlations rest on equally insecure foundations. Thus it does not seem to be true that Syria revolted against the Hittites on the accession of Mursilis II (p. 145), nor does there seem to be any clear evidence for such a revolt four or five years after the battle of Kadesh (p. 160).

However, these details detract little from the merit of the book as a most stimulating account of an archaeological enterprise carried out with zest and interpreted with imagination.

O. R. GURNEY

¹ See D. J. Wiseman, *The Alalakh Tablets*, pp. 5-6.

Die Felsbilder Europas. Von HERBERT KÜHN. 10 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 7. Pp. 323. Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer Verlag, 1953. DM. 24.

Dr. Kühn, now enjoying a professorship at Mainz, is the well-known editor of *IPEK*, the *Jahrbuch für prähistorische und ethnographische Kunst*, whose volumes have so greatly enriched our knowledge of primitive art both ancient and modern. More than usually widely-travelled among prehistorians, themselves a notably globe-exploring brotherhood, he has for thirty years studied his side of our subject, the rock-pictures of the world, wherever he could get at them from the North Cape to Africa, from Portugal to Siberia, and has twice been round the world. In the book under review he approaches his subject philosophically as one interested in art as the expression of human thought, asking himself whether the changes in style which he sees in modern art from Impressionism to Expressionism and further to Cubism cannot also be observed in the art of classical antiquity and ancient Crete and, earlier still, in prehistoric times. This line of investigation, and with it his interpretation of the paintings and engravings as giving us an indication of man's earliest magico-religious outlook and his thoughts about himself and the world, form the background theme of *Die Felsbilder Europas* and provide the framework for this magnificent and admirable one-volume account of European prehistoric rock-art.

Dr. Kühn has made a brave and indeed successful attempt to view the various groups of rock-drawings, whether on rock-surfaces or on the walls of caves, as one great whole. His scope is more limited, and therefore he is more successful than was Oswald Menghin when he produced his famous *Weltgeschichte der Steinzeit*; but the books are comparable in that both are encyclopaedic in their comprehensiveness, and, of course, in his own field there is no lack of material in Europe for Dr. Kühn to survey. Indeed, I have been trying to catch him out, looking up little-known occurrences of art in obscure localities, but knowing the author as I do and the extent of his information I should have been very disappointed if I had succeeded, and in fact have not yet found that there is much he has missed! The result is a magnificent book, profusely illustrated, and will be invaluable for any student of prehistoric art. The reader will be especially struck by the lavish production—no less than 111 full-page half-tone illustrations, not to mention numerous figures in the text. The half-tones are not merely borrowed from the classic books on the cave-art of France and Spain but include later examples of rock-pictures from Spain, France, Ireland, Scandinavia, and Russia. The book sells at about two guineas, and one trembles to think what subsidy would have been required by our University Presses if they had undertaken such a production.

The text is arranged both chronologically and geographically, that is to say the Stone Age art in various localities is first dealt with and then that of later ages. At the end there are appendixes which give a very good bibliography for the sites, and lists of occurrences in the various countries with distribution maps.

Dr. Kühn divides the cave art into three periods: the Aurignacian, which he describes as predominantly linear in character; the early- and mid-Magdalenian, the age of painting; and the late Magdalenian in which he claims to see, in accordance with his general thesis, a swing-back towards a linear style. It is impossible, in all friendship, not to join issue with the author on some of these points, because, of course, everything depends upon the archaeological periods to which the different paintings in the caves are to be ascribed. In many cases those are not in dispute, but in one important instance, that of Lascaux, Dr. Kühn is at variance with the views of the great majority of prehistorians. This fact he does not mention, simply describing some of its paintings as late Magdalenian which, since the Abbé Breuil first lectured about them, have been generally regarded as the most splendid examples of Aurignacian art! Similarly at Altamira there is the most lovely head of an ox painted in the Lascaux style and described by Dr. Kühn as late Magdalenian, thus supporting his thesis of a return to the linear style. Yet, revisiting the cave

two years ago and looking at this beautiful, sensitive work of art, I can only say that for me it clearly underlies and is therefore earlier than some Magdalenian polychrome painting.

But such criticisms of Dr. Kühn's interpretations in no way affect the factual value of his book with its complete account and gathering together of the European prehistoric rock-art of the Stone and Metal Ages.

M. C. BURKITT

Antas do Concelho de Reguengos de Monsaraz. By GEORG and VERA LEISNER. 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 7 $\frac{1}{2}$.

Pp. 328 + 63 pls. Lisbon: Instituto para a Alta Cultura, 1951. n.p.

Los Sepulcros Megalíticos de Huelva. Excavaciones Arqueológicas del Plan Nacional 1946. By

CARLOS Cerdán Márquez and GEORG and VERA LEISNER. 10 × 7. Pp. 136 + 92 pls.

Madrid: Comisaria General de Excavaciones Arqueológicas. Informes y Memorias, No. 26, 1952. \$11.

Dr. Georg Leisner and his wife, who a few years ago made fully available for the first time the results of the excavations by Louis Siret and Georges Bonsor in the megalithic tombs of Andalucía, have now placed all students of west European archaeology still further in their debt by publishing a large number of recently explored megaliths in the Spanish province of Huelva and the Portuguese district of Reguengos. In both cases the field-work itself and the prompt publication were made possible by the enlightened policy of government bodies. Since the number of monuments explored is nearly 60 in the case of Huelva and over 130 in the case of the small district of Reguengos, it will be appreciated that the structural features and rich grave-goods, illustrated so thoroughly and so conveniently for comparison in the plates, will provide a solid basis for study, which did not exist before in these and other parts of western Spain and Portugal dealt with by the Leisners in recent monographs. Not so long ago only the privileged visitor to the Belém Museum could visualize the numbers of Alemtejan megaliths or the wealth of their inventories, for apart from Vergilio Correia's useful work on the Pavia monuments, its fabulous contents remained largely unpublished.

As in their monumental work on the Andalusian monuments, the authors have to a considerable extent made good the rarity of strict associations in communal tombs by their careful analysis of the rich inventories of a large number of tombs, which enable them to say which types of object are most commonly found together, and in which types of monument, and, with the help of sensible typology, permit very probable conclusions as to the cultural sequence in a given area. Near Reguengos, however, these conclusions have been stratigraphically confirmed by the discovery of two round cairns covering central, primary passage graves of the indigenous megalithic type and secondary 'Tholoi' (Los Millares passage graves) inserted near the edge. In each case the primary chamber yielded a number of microliths, while the 'Tholos' contained arrow-heads almost exclusively of the concave-based type. The sequence propounded by the Leisners on this basis presupposes an initial settlement of the inland plateaux of south-western Iberia by pastoralists using microliths, cylindrical axes and adzes, and building small megalithic cists and galleries. This early stage was identified some while ago by Correia, Do Paço, and Heleno farther north and west in the Alemtejo, but is poorly represented in the Reguengos area; instead there are a number of small oblong or oval chambers with very short passages set in round cairns, which contain the same primitive inventories, without the engraved schist plaques and other distinctive passage grave objects. Thereafter the development, as in south-eastern Spain, reflects the interaction of the shepherd communities of the interior and the agricultural, mining, or trading communities which were established on the coast or in the main river valleys and culturally connected by sea with each other and the east Mediterranean lands. The Leisners admit the west European ('Chassey') origin of the pottery and the earliest megalithic cists, but even the earliest Reguengos

tombs contain the red-encrusted pottery which the Leisners derive ultimately from Anatolia and tentatively connect with the first metallurgists, arriving in south-eastern Spain perhaps as early as the middle of the third millennium B.C. In the Leisner view, the main development of the classical 'Pavian' passage grave took place in central and northern Alemtejo under influence from the agriculturalist 'cave culture' of the Portuguese seaboard, before the end of the third millennium; in the Reguengos area, and a border strip running northwards towards the Douro, a peripheral type with a shorter passage is found. In Huelva province the story is very different, for here there are two geographically diverse and partly contemporary groups of tombs: one, in the east, truly megalithic and derived from the local Neolithic small galleries, but developing towards large galleries in bunches of two, three, or even five with a common entrance and a common circular cairn (there are also two galleries with transepts, cruciform in one case, as in the Severn tombs)—the inventories are pastoral Neolithic with Chalcolithic infusions from Portugal on the one hand and Almeria on the other—while the other, in the west, contains 'Tholoi' with purely Chalcolithic or Early Bronze Age inventories akin to those of the Los Millares and Algarve 'Tholoi': one of them actually contained a flat copper axe of developed form. This western group seems to represent an expansion from the coast up the Guadiana valley, early in the second millennium, which had a much stronger effect in the Reguengos area than elsewhere in Alemtejo: one tomb there actually produced channelled ware with the Millaran ocular motif, helping to bridge the gap between Almeria and Peu-Richard. Indeed, a study of the grave goods, so thoroughly analysed by the Leisners, will show that it was the coastal cultures, at a late stage, which have their echoes in the north-west European megaliths, not the earlier inland groups; note, for example, that the famous Iberian bone pinhead from Co. Galway represents the last stage of a long development. None the less, the Leisners regard the inland groups as the true creators of megalithic architecture, owing only the idea of a circular chamber to the round houses of coastal settlers, who at a later date developed the megalithic passage grave into the more refined 'Tholos' form. Objects of special interest described in the reports are a vase in the form of a dove, possibly of Cycladic inspiration, and a four-footed rectangular vessel with what appears to be an inscription—the first of this period to be found in Iberia—from the 'Tholos' at La Zarcita, and an intrusive furrowed, carinated bowl belonging to the Tagus group of pottery, of French late Hallstatt origin, which I have elsewhere described.

H. N. SAVORY

Handbuch der ältesten vorgeschichtlichen Metallurgie in Mitteleuropa. VON HELMUT OTTO UND WILHELM WITTER. 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ \times 8 $\frac{1}{2}$. Pp. 222. Leipzig: Johann Ambrosius Barth-Verlag, 1952.

It is now recognized that the complete study of prehistoric cultures cannot be satisfactory while we remain in ignorance of the composition, nature, and origin of the great bulk of our metal artifacts. The old method of check analyses upon some dozen specimens from a major excavation will no longer suffice. Indeed, if real progress is to be made, arrears of work must be made good. Since the last war outstanding contributions to the study of prehistoric metallurgy have been made by Dr. Andreas Oldeberg and Professor Pittioni. The present work by Dr. Otto and the late Dr. Witter is a most valuable addition to our knowledge. Almost exclusively, this book deals with the facts of scientific research. Also, in a very fully referenced chapter the history of the chemical examination of metals in the past is given. The author's work upon the German ore deposits was only rendered possible by patient study and the collaboration of geologists and mining specialists. As many of the smaller deposits which may have been worked in early times are now exhausted, the copious references given to early literature are very important. Perhaps the greatest value of the work is that we have here a great volume of new analyses grouped technologically, and with due consideration of the various ore deposits which would account for these metallic

groups. The authors' method is correct and scientific, although for later cultures there may have been a disturbing element due to remelting of scrap metal. Whether this factor had any appreciable effect upon the complex alloys of the late Bronze Age would appear impossible to determine. Some idea of the complexity of the problem with which the authors were faced may be obtained from the statement that there are scarcely two different ore deposits in Europe which, when the ore is smelted, will give a copper of like composition. It is indeed fortunate that the smelted metal is, in general, a reflection of the parent ore so that, with the aid of exact analytical techniques, the two may be connected.

In Chapter II there is an admirable discussion on the technological evolution of copper and the various alloys. The statement that a bronze containing more than 6 per cent. of tin may be hot-forged, or cold-forged after quenching, is technically correct. However, this is a matter which should be approached with caution by the archaeologist. Indeed, if the prehistoric smith ever hot-forged a bronze, it was highly unusual. Much of his work was cast ready to shape, and bronze vessels could be worked in a cold state with the necessary anneals. On the other hand, we must not be too dogmatic, for Dr. Voce in the course of metallographic research for a committee of the Royal Anthropological Institute has advanced evidence in support of hot working in a few cases. Of much interest in view of Professor Pittioni's recent work which proves the early smelting of sulphide ores at the Mitterburg is the technical discussion given upon the smelting of these ores. The process involved has much in common with the old 'Welsh' process employed at Swansea for many years. The confusion of thought, so long surrounding the sulphide ores, is now removed. The authors (pp. 51-52), taking the geological factors, and the results of their analyses as a basis, lay stress upon an independent central European, and indeed central German, bronze industry. This is possible, for the transition to bronze depends not only upon the founder but in great measure upon the ores which are being worked. Under favourable conditions the transition is a natural sequence; and there is no absolute reason against its having taken place in more than one region; more probably, however, the knowledge was carried through trade channels from east to west. The priority of the discovery is quite another matter, and one that has not yet been proved for a definite region. Even though some of the chronology of the Near East has recently been reduced, bronze in the Ancient East still enjoys a considerable start. In this context it would be interesting to know something of the background to that remarkable occurrence of early tin-bronze at Ur.

In conclusion, the book is of great value to the metallurgist for the wealth of technical information concerning the aims, and modern methods, of prehistoric metallurgy. It is also of essential value to the archaeologist for the comparative material comprising some 1,370 analyses, with many line drawings and plate figures, now made available. It is true, and at the present time appropriate, to say that Dr. Otto's work is an urgent reminder for the initiation of similar research in this country.

H. H. COGHLAN

Danske Oldsager, IV. Yngre Bronzealder. By H. C. BROHOLM. 12½ × 9½. Pp. 104 + 1 map, and 470 figures on 74 plates. Copenhagen: Gyldendalske Boghandel: Nordisk Forlag, 1953. Danish Kr. 28.

The authorities of the Danish National Museum continue with commendable rapidity to issue further volumes of what may be called the New *Ordning*, for the relationship of this altogether admirable series to Sophus Müller's great work is explicit, and has already received due notice from reviewers of previous parts. The present volume covers the Late Bronze Age, and fully maintains the standards of its predecessors.

After a short introduction the long sequence of types is headed by the several classes of weapons and ornaments, whether from grave-groups or hoards; and in three magnificent chapters all are

assigned to one or other of the great subdivisions of the Late Bronze Age—Periods IV–VI. In the chronological aspect this is the hard core of the work, as the material it handles is of the Montelian system in the north. Typologically these chapters display the astonishing wealth of the Danish Bronze Age continuing throughout its later phases. And all this mass of material is presented in a series of illustrations as excellent as they are numerous. This part of the book concludes with a useful assemblage (figs. 311–23) of the more notable examples of bronze figurines of men and animals modelled in the round—though one of the most interesting has already appeared as fig. 105.

There follow sections on pottery and implements, which (for different reasons) do not lend themselves to the finer chronological distinctions. Here the Late Bronze Age is treated as a single whole, though the text contains many valuable notes on the more closely datable associations of individual types. The section on implements offers a welcome opportunity to review, in addition to the usual forms in bronze, an interesting range of types made from wood, bone, and stone, which are known to have been in use during the period.

At the end an outline map, accompanied by a numbered list of the *amte* and their constituent parishes, will enable anyone without the slightest knowledge of Danish topography readily to place any locality mentioned in the text. The contents are completed by two interesting concordances. These cover both the Bronze Age volumes in this series and show, first how each of the types figured by Müller in the Bronze Age volume of his *Ordning* has been treated—whether or no reproduced in this series, and if so in which volume; and secondly, which of the types figured in vols. iii and iv of this series correspond with those already published by Müller in *Ordning*, or by Montelius in his *Minnen*. From the first can be seen at a glance what readjustments have proved necessary since the publication of *Ordning* ii. It is the Early Bronze Age that has fared the worse; of the types assigned to this period in 1891 nine are now moved back into the Neolithic, and no less than twenty-five forward into the succeeding period. On the other hand, of types then assigned to the Late Bronze Age only one has had to be moved back into the Early Bronze Age. Curiously this situation presents precisely the converse to the experience of Montelius himself, in whose earlier schemes many types later recognized as belonging to the Early Bronze Age were originally assigned to the Late Bronze Age. The second table demonstrates the enormously increased range of material for reference to which this volume serves as an index—470 illustrated entries against 252 (not all illustrated) in the *Ordning*. As in the preceding volumes there is a full English translation.

The table of comparative chronology (p. 8) will be examined with interest in this country, both in its relative and its absolute aspects; and not many will be ready just yet to share the author's apparent confidence (p. 60) in the proposition that 'it is possible to reach a quite trustworthy absolute chronology for the Late Bronze Age of Scandinavia'. A table of synchronisms which shows no intervening column between central Italy and Scandinavia will tend only to confirm the hesitant in their reservations. It is a surprise, too, to find that while Period IV is allowed a span of 150 years, and VI no less than 200, Period V—the Golden Age of the Scandinavian Late Bronze Age—is held to have run its course in just 100 years; but here the author is on ground where his opinions carry special weight. On the other hand, though he does show an overlap between the end of Period V and the beginning of Hallstatt C, its duration is insignificant. Yet reference to the text shows that all Hallstatt swords found in Denmark are assigned to V, except in the one case (Holbaek) where the sword was found with material inescapably to be dated to VI. If that is right, then the overlap must in fact have been more considerable than is allowed to appear.

A special word of praise is due to the publishers. The standards of production—format, printing, paper, and illustrations—are quite admirable and of the greatest credit to all concerned. The output of outstanding works on the prehistory of Denmark during the past twenty years is

truly astonishing, and in all alike only the highest standards have been accepted. If this is in part due to the support of certain established funds, that in itself is simply a reflection of a healthy public opinion. On all counts our friends in Denmark—scholars, publishers, and general public—are alike to be congratulated.

J. D. COWEN

Historical Metrology. By A. E. BERRIMAN, O.B.E., M.I.Mech.E., F.R.Ac.S. Pp. xvi + 224. London: Dent; New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1953. 16s.

There is need for an up-to-date handbook of historical metrology. Mr. Berriman has read widely, and has spent some years in collecting the material for this summary. As an engineer, he is well equipped for the task. He has collected much material, which may well form the basis of a more comprehensive treatise. Nevertheless his work is corrupted by the introduction of an untenable hypothesis or rather of a whole series of hypotheses. In his own words, 'there was a system that interlocked the metrology of the [ancient] civilised world in just the way that the convenience of traders and bankers would demand'. It is true that to ancient merchants, as to modern, ways of exchange were necessary, but to suggest that there was a *system* of metrology common to or accepted by all or most ancient civilizations is contrary to the evidence. The kind of results to which Mr. Berriman's views lead may be illustrated by a single example:

'... the English and Scottish acres can be represented geometrically by circles inscribed respectively in square Scottish and Irish acres. And if the Irish acre is increased by 14 sq. yds. to 7,854 sq. yds. it would measure ($\pi/4$) myriad sq. yds. and be equal to the area of a circle 100 yds. in diameter: this is the published diameter of the outer earthwork circle at Stonehenge. A square enclosing this circle would have an area of 1 myriad sq. yds. and be equal to the Hindu nivartana. This geometry of the acres, in conjunction with that of the Great Pyramid, suggests that the geometrics of remote antiquity may have realised $\pi = (22/7)$ to be the numerical value of (area of circle/radius²) as well as of (circumference/diameter).'

Mr. Berriman's figures are well chosen and interesting, but his text can be useful only if treated with critical care.

CHARLES SINGER

La Palmyrène du Nord-Ouest (Institut français d'Archéologie de Beyrouth, Bibliothèque archéologique et historique, tome xlix). By DANIEL SCHLUMBERGER. 11 $\frac{1}{4}$ × 9. Pp. xiv + 194, 48 pls. Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1951. Fr. 5,250.

In this useful volume M. Schlumberger presents a report on investigations made in 1933-5 in the hill country north-west of Palmyra, where a large series of ancient sites has now been recovered; many of them were tested by excavation in the course of the author's survey, and plans, photographs, and careful descriptions of the principal finds add to the interest of his account. In a brief review it would be impossible to do full justice to the book. Its main importance will undoubtedly be as a contribution to the study of Palmyrene cults and sanctuaries, in which M. Schlumberger himself is particularly interested; but attention may also be directed to his suggestion, advanced with all reserve (p. 133), that the chief value of the district in question to Palmyra was as a breeding-ground for the horses which its heavy cavalry required: many of the sites examined by him have yielded sculptures of deities which might appropriately have been worshipped by the managers of stud-farms. For the student of Roman castrametation, special interest attaches to the plans of Rasm ech Chaar (fig. 18, p. 45), a typical Diocletianic structure; of Ouéchel (fig. 19, p. 47), as characteristic a *centenarium* as one could wish to find in North Africa; and of Tahoun el Masek (fig. 20, p. 49), an unusual rectangular building, 25 × 10 metres,

to which I can adduce no parallel. This site has produced inscriptions in Latin (p. 87, no. 3, dated A.D. 156) and Greek, which attest the presence there of *dromedarii* and of at least one Thracian, no doubt a Roman auxiliary soldier; two fragmentary Latin texts come from Ouéchel (p. 86, nos. 5 and 6), but unfortunately nothing can be made of them. It is to be hoped that the reconnaissance here recorded may be followed up, in due course, by the more detailed investigations which the manifold interest of M. Schlumberger's results clearly calls for.

E. BIRLEY

The Excavations at Dura-Europos: Preliminary Report of the Ninth Season of Work, 1935-6.

Part III. *The Palace of the Dux Ripae and the Dolichenum.* 10 × 7½. Pp. xvi + 134 with 24 pls. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1952 (London: Geoffrey Cumberlege). 32s. 6d.

This part of the preliminary report of the ninth season of work at Dura is concerned with two adjacent buildings on the river front of the city. Owing to the war the reports have had a chequered history; they have been prepared in America without the full collaboration of the excavators.

The Palace of the Dux Ripae is a large building with two colonnaded courts and a luxurious set of apartments on a terrace facing the river. This forms the main dwelling, separate and facing away from the courtyards. The title *dux ripae* appears in inscriptions found in this building and in other documents from Dura. The officer appears to have been the commander of the troops on the Euphrates lines in the third century; he was subordinate to the consular legate at Antioch. It is suggested that the large palace here described was his residence and official headquarters. The early-third-century date proposed depends on the restoration of a very fragmentary dipinto ascribed to Heliogabalus (218-22) rather than Severus Alexander (222-35); purely archaeological considerations would suggest a date nearer the middle of the century. The Dolichenum is a double temple with twin naoi, sacred to Jupiter Dolichenus and Turmasgade. It was built in or shortly before 211, by members of the reinforced garrison of the city.

The report follows the normal form of these preliminary accounts. It has good plans and sections with restored drawings of the buildings. The inscriptions, including an interesting group concerning actors, and other finds are fully described. The photographs of the sites are poor and badly reproduced.

C. A. R. RADFORD

The Inscriptions of Roman Tripolitania. Edited by J. M. REYNOLDS and J. B. WARD PERKINS (in collaboration with S. Aurigemma, R. Bartoccini, G. Caputo, R. Goodchild, and P. Romanelli). 10 × 7½. Pp. vii + 286. 9 maps, 11 plates, 17 figures. British School at Rome [1952]. £3.

This collection of Latin and Greek inscriptions on stone from Roman Tripolitania presents without translation the texts with descriptive details and appends classified indexes. It forms a valuable compendium for scholars and students who can afford the price. The work has benefited from the collaboration and in some instances from the unpublished material of Italian scholars. The section on the milestones is regrettably merely a summary of Mr. R. G. Goodchild's recent study. The neo-Punic inscriptions have been omitted, but are translated when Latin or Greek texts occur with them. The *instrumentum domesticum* has been excluded.

The inscriptions are grouped according to town or region, and by using the series of admirable maps the reader can appreciate the geographical differences so well expounded in the introduction to each section. Apart from the first century there is a fine range of imperial inscriptions, including milestones, and municipal government is well represented. The rest are mainly tombstones, either pagan or Christian.

The editors emphasize the localized variations in the lettering, and on eleven plates illustrate the letter-styles of thirty-eight texts. The lower part of pl. x, 1, is worthless, and the printing of pl. xi, 1, seems faulty. It is to be regretted that, in seeking to keep down the price of the volume, the editors have felt unable to make greater use of the method of contact-drawing for line-blocks exemplified by Collingwood in his *Archaeology of Roman Britain*. A few line-drawings of extant inscriptions are given but are based on squeezes, not drawn directly from the stones. The excellent photograph for pl. x, 5, could have been replaced by a clear drawing and made four lines of notes unnecessary. The late script on pl. iv, 3 and 4, would show up well if drawn.

The book, lacking date of publication, has been well printed and has few misprints. Latin words like *damnatio* should be italicized. Trajanus (in note to no. 49) should avoid j, or be rendered in English. Misprints noted, and here given in their amended form, are: Constantinus (p. 255), οὐδὲν (p. 173), pl. v, 3 (p. 83, l. 2), wrong symbol for monogram cross (p. 27, l. 10).

R. P. WRIGHT

Roman Exeter (Isca Dumnoniorum). Excavations in the War-damaged Areas, 1945-7. By AILEEN FOX, with contributions by Sir IFOR WILLIAMS, R. G. GOODCHILD, and others. 9½ × 7½. Pp. xvi + 104. History of Exeter Research Group, monograph no. 8. Published for the University College of the South-West of England by Manchester University Press, 1952. 30s.

To exploit the opportunity presented by our bombed cities is probably the principal archaeological task of our generation, calling for special disciplines both of technique and of self-control. Blitzed city-digging has few of the attractions and much more than the complications of a country excavation: yet because it is urgent rescue-work, and because in our historic cities is to be found the story of our civilization's continuity and growth, these blitz-excavations are the supreme responsibility of today. They demand the laying aside of private researches and a single-hearted concentration while time lasts.

At Exeter excavations started in 1945 and continued for three seasons: the results are presented in this excellent volume, and if they are more meagre than we expected, their lucidity is unencumbered by a mass of incidental detail.

The report proper has three parts: first the historical summary of the excavations preceded by a topographical introduction; secondly the detailed account of the trenches, and lastly the finds. Four Roman periods have been recognised. Period I saw the birth of a civilian town, for both a pre-Roman settlement and a Roman military occupation can now be discounted. This timber-built town began c. A.D. 50/55, and by the end of Period II (A.D. 80-200) had become a normal city with Forum (rightly credited to Agricola), earthen fortifications, and stone houses. Period III (third century) saw the walling of the city and further building including tessellated floors, and Period IV its decline. The Forum at any rate had fallen into disuse by A.D. 380; but on the question how far life of any sort had ceased, only the lack of Theodosian coins can be offered in evidence at present.

Much evidence for the dark ages no longer exists. Unlike so many other cities where great depths of soil accumulated in post-Roman times, in Exeter denudation has been the rule; in places there is nothing left above the natural gravel. In compensation, however, this shallowness permitted Lady Fox to strip and plan much of a Period I house below the forum gravel. Here she was in her element, and we have a brilliant study of the family of the basilican house in Britain.

There can be few excavation reports which do not require an effort of concentration, and this is especially true of a complicated city-site. Yet needless confusion is caused by the omission of a general plan of the city clearly marking (1) all the sites excavated, (2) all the street names mentioned in the text, (3) all the town-gates. On a city-dig it is easy—from the cathedral or town-

gate—to arrive at conventional compass-points of one's own, and it is certainly inconvenient to be always writing NE. or NNW.: but to the reader, looking at the true bearings on the plan, or wondering whether the NE. or the NW. gate is the one called North, these convenient short-hands are a source of irritation. The book does contain a photograph of the 25-in. map, but its lack of clarity makes it a doubtful asset, and cross-reference from the detailed plans is difficult.

The excavations themselves, as far as they went, were done with masterly competence; but three seasons were not enough. In particular one may regret that no further effort was made to follow up the street-grid, to which some clues were found; nor was the opportunity taken to sum up existing knowledge with plans. A list of previous finds by R. G. Goodchild is indeed included, but the book is not the final work on Roman Exeter which its name implies.

In conclusion, attention may be briefly called to the following points: (1) the evidence (pp. 4, 66) of Belgic penetration to this remote west (why is the misleading term 'Belgic' instead of the accepted 'Gallo-Belgic' applied to the Claudian platters (pp. 15, 77)?); (2) the evidence for coastal and cross-Channel trade, rightly connected with Milne's work on Greek coins found in Britain; (3) the illuminating remarks (p. 5) on the diversion of cantonal mineral wealth to imperial monopoly; (4) the evidence for Severan fortification, familiar now in many towns and calling for an explanation from history; (5) the evidence for Romano-British Christianity; (6) somewhat incongruously Roman Exeter contains a report on the tenth-century Saxon church of St. George. This was rightly included, but one may regret that the title was not extended to include publication of the important twelfth-century pottery found, which has been separately published in the *Journal*.

S. S. FRERE

Fartygsfynden i den forna hamnen i Kalmar: Kulturhistoriska undersökningar vid Kalmar slott utförda under ledning av Martin Olsson, I. By HARALD ÅKERLUND. 12½ × 9. Pp. 158 + 30 pl. + 109 figs.; pp. 7 of English summary. Published by Sjöhistoriska Samfundet Stockholm, 1951. n.p.

The town of Kalmar has long been one of the principal ports of south-east Sweden. Its importance was already considerable as early as the twelfth century, and through its good natural harbour protected with islands it was long concerned with the export of Swedish iron and the seasonal herring fishery. The town was walled and a powerful castle which still survives in modified form was built to dominate the harbour. It was a place of resort for much shipping, particularly from Germany and the Low Countries, and its prosperity continued unabated till the disasters of the Kalmar war of 1611 between Denmark and Sweden brought about the ruin of the old town. The present town was later founded on the neighbouring island of Kvarnholmen, and the original harbour in front of the castle, more and more neglected, degenerated into a stretch of some twelve acres of shallow water covering deposits of mud which reached a depth of nearly 15 ft. in places.

In 1934 the old harbour was sealed off by a dam and the accumulated mud was removed. During this work many important finds were made. The chief of these, apart from old harbour works, were the remains of some twenty ships and boats, and it is fortunate that those among them which may be attributed to the middle ages—five ships and two small boats—are among the best preserved of the group.

None of these vessels appears to be older than c. A.D. 1250 and the few boat fragments which may be attributed to Viking times are unimportant. Some of the later vessels were victims of various attacks on the castle, principally in the seventeenth century, and the use of some as fire-ships has contributed to their poor state of preservation.

All of the vessels found are clinker built with one exception, a small Swedish naval vessel known to have been sunk in 1651.

Considerable interest attaches to the oldest vessel which dates from c. A.D. 1250. It is a small beamy ship 11 m. long, 4.55 m. broad, and with a depth of about 2 m. from the upper edge of the keel. This has a T-section, and the sternpost is quite straight with a modern rake. Amidships the vessel is nearly flat-bottomed and the broad hull is strengthened with an efficient system of cross beams. The hull is ceiled inside with narrow battens, and small sections of deck occur in the stem and stern alone, the rest of the hull being left open. A mast stands on a step in the keelson, and the placing of a strong windlass in the after-body suggests that it could be raised and lowered.

But by far the most remarkable detail of the construction of this small ship is the projection of the beam ends beyond its sides. This method appears to have been used in both ancient Egyptian and Roman ship-building and it is suggested by the details appearing on medieval seals which depict ships.

At Kalmar it has been possible to give a clear demonstration of this device not only in the ship in question but also in the remains of at least four other medieval vessels found during the same work.

The wreck of another ship, 16.2 m. long, 5.6 m. wide, and 2.4 m. deep, which may be dated c. A.D. 1500, exhibited the interesting feature of shroud-holds projecting above the gunwale. This ship was round-sterned with a broad after-part and may have carried an after-castle or a vaulted 'cabin'. Parts of this ship's pump and water-shoot were preserved.

Among the more recent ship remains found were those of a small Russian-type *lodja* which was used in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries for transport purposes by the Swedish navy.

The general impression received from the finds is that medieval Swedish ships remained quite small until the fifteenth century. Most of the details of keel and stem construction, frame-structure, and clinker planking had attained their final perfection before medieval times, and the chief technical progress made during the middle ages was in the direction of improved transverse and longitudinal strengthening along with ceiling, bilge planks, and beam stringers all contributing to the same result. These advances were all made necessary by the increase in size of the vessels as time went on. The stern rudder had also been introduced, but the remodelling of the stern part of the ship to make the best use of the new mode of steering was a gradual process.

An interesting feature of the Kalmar finds is the way in which they confirm the fidelity to detail shown by medieval artists when depicting contemporary shipping.

The volume is admirably illustrated by many photographs, drawings, plans, and reconstructions. It is yet another distinguished contribution made by Scandinavia to the study of early shipping in north-west Europe.

C. W. PHILLIPS

De Nordiske Guldbrakteater (Fysk Arkæologisk Selskabs Skrifter, Bind II). By MOGENS B. MACKEPRANG. 11 $\frac{3}{4}$ \times 8 $\frac{1}{2}$. Pp. 228, with 28 plates and 27 text-figures and distribution-maps. Aarhus (Universitetsforlaget), 1952. Kr. 60.

As Dr. Mackeprang fairly remarks in his introduction, the absence of a modern catalogue of the gold bracteates of the northern Migration period has long been a gap in the literature of Scandinavian antiquities. Wellnigh a century has passed since C. J. Thomsen's extensive list appeared in the *Annaler for nordisk Oldkyndighed* in 1855, followed by an *Atlas* of drawings in 1857. And though Montelius, Salin, and others have in the intervening years written on the history, typology, and regional distribution of these fascinating jewels, the gap could still be felt. The more so, because Thomsen included jewelled pendants which fell outside the scope of the true bracteates, while subsequent discoveries have greatly increased the material with which any student has to deal.

The thesis begins with an interesting account of the early formation of a bracteate collection by the Danish royal house, and a survey of the older literature, emanating almost entirely, as is only natural, from the pens of Scandinavian archaeologists. There follows a study on the occurrence of Roman medallions and imitations of them in northern Europe viewed in relation to the two well-recognized streams of Roman coinage which poured into Scandinavia. The earlier stream, covering a period from c. A.D. 400 and most of the fifth century, consisted of coin-types of which very few, and those the latest types, occur among those of the later stream. This stream only began to flow towards the end of the fifth century, and its main constituents found their way into hoards that can be dated to the sixth.

Dr. Mackeprang has held fast in the main to the classification laid down by Montelius in 1869, and while accepting most of Salin's sub-groups has introduced one or two minor ones of his own. These can be more competently examined by northern experts, especially in regard to the manifold division of type C. The author's opinions about the dating of the various types seems to be very reasonably stated and should win general acceptance. All that may be said is that hoards—and the predominant Danish material is entirely confined to hoards—do not in any case supply a substantial basis for chronological deductions. Again, when brooch-types are associated with the hoards, even the close analogy of the bracteates in two or more hoards does not give us the date of the deposition of the hoard or of the individual constituents of the hoard.

The very modest English contribution to the total of known gold bracteates receives its place in the catalogue; it presents an interesting problem. Why should the earliest (typologically) example, an A bracteate not too far removed from the medallion prototypes, have found its way to the heart of the midlands, where also the two late C bracteates have come to light, while in east Kent the finds are limited to D bracteates and one of B type? The English pieces seem to emphasize the highly mixed composition of the invaders at every landing-stage at their first arrival. It raises another aspect of imports in early Anglo-Saxon times. This, the present reviewer has treated at greater length elsewhere in this number of the *Journal* (p. 208).

An interesting chapter recounts the result of tests made to ascertain the method adopted by the goldsmiths in the striking of the flans. By trial and error it was learnt how the spreading and curving of the flan had been avoided.

It is not to be supposed that Scandinavian soil has yet yielded up all its treasure or that all has been said on the subject of bracteates. Nevertheless, the literary gap has been filled, if for no other reason, by virtue of the invaluable *catalogue raisonnée*, which alone must establish this handsomely produced volume as the standard work of reference for many years to come.

E. T. LEEDS

Bondehuse og Vandmøller i Danmark gennem 2000 År. (Farms and Watermills in Denmark during 2,000 years.) By AXEL STEENBERG. 10 × 6½. Pp. 325 + pls. 76 + figs. 104. (English Summary, pp. 287–325.) Copenhagen: Alfred G. Hassing, 1952. 42s.

Dr. Steensberg is best known in this country for his work on prehistoric agriculture, especially his *North-West European Plough Types* and *Ancient Danish Harvesting Implements*, published in 1937 and 1943. But for the past fifteen years he has been studying the problem of medieval Danish peasant culture. He can well claim to be a pioneer in the application of archaeology to this important field of study, for little has been done on these problems elsewhere in Europe. The Germans, Swiss, and French have all started work on deserted medieval villages, but have not attempted anything on the scale of the Danish investigations. The book under review gives the results of Dr. Steensberg's early researches into medieval archaeology from the time that he entered the Third Department (Folk Culture) of the National Museum at Copenhagen from 1938 to 1946.

The first section describes the important discoveries at Bolle, where he found not only a sixteenth-century water-mill with a vertical axle, but also the dam, reservoir, and nether quern-stone of an earlier mill dated to the pre-Roman Iron Age, the first time that a rotary quern has been found in Denmark earlier than A.D. 400. Dr. Valdemar Mikkelsen contributes a section on the pollen analysis of the Bolle bog and valuable evidence is given as to the dating of the recurrence surfaces RY 1, 2, and 3, and the climatic changes associated with them. At Pebringe Dr. Steensberg excavated under an eighteenth-century farm, uncovered the complete plan of the medieval farm, and to one side found traces of two small round pre-Roman Iron Age houses. On Nødskov Heath several houses were excavated dating to the tenth and eleventh centuries. But it was at Aså that Dr. Steensberg was able to work out the techniques needed to unravel complex medieval peasant structures, for he had four separate buildings lying one on top of another covering a period of 500 years from 1300 to 1800 with only about 2 ft. of deposit altogether.

The book is copiously illustrated, and though the excavations look untidy it must be remembered that most of the work was carried out under war-time conditions with a very slender purse. It is a pity that no scales are shown in the text photographs. It is all very well for continental archaeologists to say that ranging-poles are misleading as they only give the exact scale at one point in photographs. Even if scales are given in the text, it is essential that photographs should have their scales given on the actual plate itself as well, in order to interpret the evidence. Moreover, no scales are shown on the illustrations of the finds and it does not appear sufficiently clear to the reader that all the objects are reproduced full size. The photographs of sherds with sections by the side are effective, but do not always give a good idea of the shape and size of the object shown, especially plates IX, 1 and LI, 1, where the dish fragments look more like pot rims as they are tipped on to their sides. There is an efficient English summary of 48 pages. It is a great help that all the photographs and plans have English captions, but one wishes that the finds could also be summarized in English, the more so as many are fifteenth-, sixteenth-, and seventeenth-century objects of which period there are so few stratified sites published. These slight faults, however, do not detract from the great importance of this book, which is a landmark in medieval archaeology and shows the true marriage between the historian and the archaeologist that is so necessary for the effective study of the medieval period. This volume is the first in a series of 'Researches into Village Archaeology'. We eagerly look forward to Dr. Steensberg's publication of the deserted village of Store Valby, where during the past six years he has been excavating five of the seventeen farms in a full-scale attempt to excavate a complete abandoned village.

In a short special foreword for English readers he points out some of the difficulties which beset the excavator of medieval peasant sites where there has been continuous occupation for 500 years or more and levels will be measured in inches rather than in feet. In Britain we have lagged far behind in our investigations of medieval sites other than castles and abbeys, and other structures of architectural merit. But there are signs of an awakening and awareness of the needs and great potentialities of medieval archaeology, which is a subject that must be shared by students of many different disciplines. The foundation recently of the Deserted Medieval Village Research Group is a step in the right direction, and there is every hope that soon we shall be able to show results in this country comparable with Dr. Steensberg's pioneer work in Denmark.

J. G. HURST

From Domesday Book to Magna Carta, 1087-1216. By A. L. POOLE. 8½ × 5½. Pp. xvi + 541. The Oxford History of England. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press, 1951. 25s.

The President of St. John's College, Oxford, is to be thanked for his survey of English history from Domesday Book to Magna Carta. As its title suggests, it is concerned primarily with economic and constitutional history, and it follows firmly in the tradition of Stubbs as modified by

Round. It is not a revolutionary book, but it gives the reader the opportunity to survey the relevant historical research of the last fifty years. King John is partially rehabilitated and the northern barons are condemned, while there is a notable chapter on the anarchy of Stephen's reign in which Round's thesis is defended with fresh evidence. The main result of modern research has, however, been the publication of the 'record sources' of medieval history, and of these the President of St. John's has unrivalled knowledge. Consequently his discussion of the social, economic, legal, and constitutional history of the period is of quite exceptional importance, even though he has previously embodied some of the results of his researches in his Ford Lectures on *The Obligations of Society in the XII and XIII Centuries*.

'The Norman rulers of England were disagreeable men, masterful, stern and cruel.' The sentence sums up vividly the author's approach to his subject. He gives full weight to their genius for political organization and administrative efficiency, and lucidly explains the complicated diplomatic and military history of both the conquest and the loss of Normandy—'From Hastings to Bouvines' could almost have been the sub-title of his book. He devotes one chapter to 'learning, literature and art' and one to the 'Celtic fringe'. To the Church, however, he has given rather less attention than might have been expected. The two chapters on 'Church and State' are sandwiched into the middle of the volume, and here the reader should consult Professor Knowles's review with its comments on the Constitutions of Clarendon in *The English Historical Review*, vol. lxvii, p. 564.

It goes without saying that this book, which is the product of a lifetime of research, is written in a vigorous and lucid style. No scholar will read it without feeling grateful to its author, particularly for the plentiful supply of valuable footnotes. For although his book is necessarily a textbook, it also breaks new ground.

R. H. C. DAVIS

History of Salonitan Christianity. By EJNAR DYGGVE. (Instituttet for Sammenlignende Kulturforskning, Ser. A, XXI.) 8½ × 5½. Pp. xiv + 164. Oslo: H. Aschehoug & Co.; and London: Kegan Paul. 20s.

The claim made at the beginning of this book that 'Salona is the most important urban area on European soil for studies in archaeology of early Christianity' is, if we except Rome itself, no exaggerated one. The city was destroyed in c. A.D. 614 and never built over: and the contribution made by modern excavations there to crucial problems of early Christian archaeology is nowhere more apparent than in the earlier works of Dyggve himself, which are unobtrusively listed on pp. 121–2 of the present work (cf. the brief critique by Lemerle in *Rev. Arch.*, ser. 6, t. xxiii, 1949, pp. 168 ff.). A comprehensive re-examination of the Salona material by Dyggve (and in English, if not always a very felicitous English) is therefore a notable event. The accounts of individual monuments and the wider issues they raise contain some new material and much more that has been published previously but will probably be unfamiliar to most English scholars: I note particularly the reconstruction of the pre-Constantinian oratories (p. 24 and fig. II), in which the enclosing of the presbytery by a screen surely deserves to be emphasized; the analysis of the change from extra-mural to urban burial and its implications for the development of the Christian basilica (pp. 33 ff.) (on the 'double-cathedral', Dyggve's remarks should now be compared with those of J. Hubert in *Atti del I Congresso di Studi Longobardi*, 1951, pp. 167–76, but also with the still fundamental study by R. Krautheimer in *Studies of the Warburg Institute*, i, 2, 1936, pp. 323–37); and the evidence for libations for the dead and their liturgical significance (pp. 113 ff.). The monuments themselves, however, are at every point used as material evidence for the general history of the Christian Church at Salona, and the conclusion that the second urban basilica and baptistery must surely be those of an *Arian* episcopal see (p. 50) deserves the

consideration even of those historians who are least willing to take account of archaeological evidence. Unfortunately Dyggve is less happy in his use of non-archaeological material, and sometimes this is responsible for misleading inferences from the monuments. The supposed importance of the connexion of the bishop of Salona with Byzantium 'from which place his nomination as metropolitan comes' is in conflict with the fact that the ecclesiastical connexion of Salona was at all times with Rome (the evidence is most conveniently collected by E. Stein, *Histoire du Bas-Empire*, ii, p. 676, n. 2). Dyggve's account of the history of Christian Dalmatia (and Croatia) in the 250 years after the destruction of Salona is acceptable only in part. Whatever may be the truth about the translation(s) of SS. Dominus and Anastasius (Novak in *Vjesnik za Arheologiju i Historiju Dalmatinsku*, xlvii, pp. 41-79—missed apparently by Dyggve—seems to get nearer a correct solution than any other scholar), the beginning of an episcopal succession at Spalato is to be dated certainly to the later eighth century: the arguments first adduced by Bulić-Bervaldi in their *Kronotaksa . . . spljetskih nadbiskupa*, 1913, pp. 116-22, are still entirely valid. The effective conversion of the Croats probably began in the same period (although I believe that the real missionary church was Aquileia and not Spalato), for the contrary view of M. Barada in *Serta Hoffilleriana*, 1940, pp. 401-18, rests entirely on an impossible dating of an ornamental fragment. On the other hand, Dyggve's views on the origins of Early Croatian architecture, which incidentally accord much more happily with the evidence for the history of Christianity in post-Roman Dalmatia as I see it, are certainly the best statement to date of this very difficult problem, although one major crux remains, namely, the church of Sv. Donat, Zara. It is indeed the virtues of this book that should be stressed. One feels very forcibly how much one missed by visiting the monuments in question before the appearance of Dyggve's book; and it tempts one to pose some of the questions that must be tackled before the definitive history of Salonitan Christianity, to which Dyggve himself looks forward, can be undertaken. In particular, is it not possible to learn something more of Salonitan Christians and of the social development of the town in the period 300-600? Have inscriptions yielded all the information that they might? Now that the monuments have been so ably reconsidered, the greatest need would seem to be the preparation of a Corpus of Salonitan inscriptions.

D. A. BULLOUGH

A History of Cyprus, Vol. IV. *The Ottoman Province. The British Colony 1571-1948*. By the late Sir GEORGE HILL: edited by Sir HARRY LUKE. 9 x 5½. Pp. xxxi + 640. Frontispiece + 16 pls. Cambridge: at the University Press, 1952. 70s.

Sir George Hill had completed before his death the manuscript of the fourth and final volume of his *History of Cyprus*. The story is carried down to the dissolution of the Consultative Assembly in August 1948. Nowhere is there any suggestion of weakening powers. The balanced narrative unrolls itself as smoothly and precisely as before: there is the same grasp of detail, whether it is the obscurities of Turkish eighteenth-century government or the complex political divisions under British rule. The author, moreover, has been singularly fortunate in his editor, Sir Harry Luke, himself a historian of Cyprus and an administrator well versed in its affairs. He disclaims any great part in the final product, but the maintenance of the high standard of accuracy and of indexing must be credited to him. His half-apologetic discussion of the problems of Turkish transliteration serves as an example of the problems that he must have had to solve. England for long showed little interest in the antiquities and monuments of Cyprus. That has been remedied, and Sir George Hill played a large part in bringing the remedy about. Now he has endowed the island with a chronicle of its history such as any country might be proud to own.

The present volume falls into two parts, which are inevitably of very different interest. The three hundred years of Turkish rule are a static, gloomy period, singularly devoid of events or

personalities of any distinction. The authorities for it are scattered and meagre, and steering a steady course through their intricacies must have been an exacting and thankless task. It has been done with a thoroughness which presents a remarkably clear picture of the methods of Turkish provincial government, of the intrigues and persistence, sometimes heroic, sometimes corrupt, of the Cypriot Church, and of the dull, diseased, unprosperous life of the island. In this long period the Greek War of Independence (1821-9) marks a turning-point. Greeks and other Christians who had held influential posts in Constantinople were removed, and a long period of comparative tolerance was replaced by one of repression, suspicion, and abortive reforms. The Cypriot massacres of 1821, when Archbishop Kyprianos and the leading Christians of the island were executed at Nicosia, had its counterpart in other provinces under Turkish rule, and introduced some thirty years of oppressive government. By the mid century, matters were mending: foreign consuls were active in the island: the Christian community was regaining some control of trade, and the population was increasing as a result of vaccination and measures directed against the constant outbursts of plague.

The story of English rule, dealing as it does with keen contemporary controversies, has quite another interest. Sir George Hill here provides the first detailed and documented account of the development of Enosis. Needless to say it is given scrupulously and dispassionately, in places almost too dispassionately, for it is difficult to discover what exactly happened in October 1931, unless the reader already knows, and the heading 'riot' in the index gives no reference to it. This controlled, careful statement is an invaluable aid to the understanding of present Cypriot problems. It will not affect the deeply emotional cult of Mother Greece, but it is none the less in itself a political document of some importance.

In his penultimate chapter Sir George has given a brief account of the care of antiquities as organized under British rule. He himself drafted the Antiquities Law of 1935, setting up the present Department. He lived to see, despite the years of war, a remarkable use of restricted resources. The castles of Kyrenia, St. Hilarion, and Kantara are now models of judicious restoration and of appropriate care and upkeep. In Nicosia the carved voussoirs of St. Sophia have been rediscovered and the Bedestan largely freed from later buildings. At Famagusta, a vast and difficult problem, much urgent conservation has been carried out, and purchase of building sites has done something to maintain the aspect of this great dead city. It would have been a hopeful theme on which to end, and a fitting conclusion to labours of such length, but the last chapter of all deals with 'strategic considerations' and brings us once more to the central problems of Cypriot policy.

T. S. R. BOASE

Later English Romanesque Sculpture, 1140-1210. By GEORGE ZARNECKI. 7½ × 4¾. Pp. 68 + 133 plates. London: Tiranti, 1953. 15s.

This small popular volume should do much to make the wealth and beauty of English Romanesque sculpture known to a wider public. It is lavishly illustrated with good clear photographs, chosen with a due appreciation of the more significant examples. There are short descriptive notes to each of the plates. The dates given both in these notes and in the captions have a precision which is not always justified, and it would have been wiser to emphasize that they are in many cases based on an artistic appreciation of the development of the English Romanesque style. The text is short without notes or authorities. This is presumably to fit the general plan of the series, but it gives an appearance of dogmatism, which must not blind dissenters to the very real scholarship which clearly lies behind the author's summary.

A number of points might be challenged; three must suffice. 'It is generally accepted that the Lincoln frieze is an imitation of Modena's famous frieze by Guglielmo.' In fact it is by no means

certain that the sculptures were made for this position. The disturbance and resetting of some parts, to which Zarnecki alludes, and other details, in particular the suspiciously good preservation of the chamfered course above the reliefs (shown in pls. 59 and 63), suggest that the panels may have been placed here at a comparatively late period. Moreover, the date *circa* 1145 given in the notes and on the captions does not agree with the more likely statement in the text that 'the frieze marks the completion of the reconstruction some years after his [i.e. Bishop Alexander's] death' (1148). 'The most eloquent amongst those who supported the Anglo-Saxon date [of the York Virgin] was the late Sir Alfred Clapham, who did so on purely epigraphic grounds.' This is a misleading statement, which ignores Clapham's careful artistic appreciation of the problem, which he discussed on more than one occasion. Zarnecki's own contribution to the discussion is a comparison of the relief with the Virgin of the Winchester Psalter, which, following Demus, he accepts as an English copy of a Sicilian prototype. The subsequent account of the travels of Archbishop William of York is not really pertinent. The archetype is surely Byzantine, and even if all the points made are accepted they do nothing to meet the arguments of Clapham, which have been recently borne out by Professor Talbot Rice's treatment of this sculpture. Lastly, we may note that the ascription of the sculpture on the doors of the Lady Chapel at Glastonbury to *circa* 1210 involves the hypothesis that the main entrance to the principal shrine of this abbey was left undecorated for a period of some twenty-five years. To prove this would require more than a comparison with the cloister of Bridlington Priory, which 'although different in style, represents a similar stage in which Romanesque stylization mixes with the new Gothic naturalism'. The fault lies with the publisher, who planned the volumes, rather than the author. Romanesque sculpture is so much a part of the architecture that a book lacking the space to deal with their interrelation must at times be misleading.

C. A. R. RADFORD

Le Château de Gaillon. Par ELISABETH CHIROL. Préface de M. MARCEL AUBERT. 10 x 6½. Pp. 292. Rouen: M. Lecerf; Paris: A. et J. Picard (1952).

The Château of Gaillon is usually cited in histories of art as the first great building in France in which elements of Renaissance decoration were employed. Like the palace of Nonsuch, which has a similar importance in the history of English art, it has been more often mentioned than studied; but unlike Nonsuch it still survives in part. Though its pavilions are ruined, and many of its sculptural details are scattered, it has been possible for Mademoiselle Chirol to give a clear and consecutive account of its construction and its style.

Gaillon had existed as a feudal castle on a bluff overlooking the Seine through the middle ages, being held for a long time by a Welshman in the service of Philip Augustus. It passed into the possession of the archbishops of Rouen in 1263. Cardinal d'Estouteville, who was enthroned as archbishop in 1453, first restored the battered remains of the old castle, and then between 1458 and 1463 began to build his 'Ostel neuf', which seems to have resembled in its details his palace at Rouen. It was not finished when Cardinal Georges d'Amboise became archbishop in 1493. When he returned from the Italian campaigns in 1502 he began to reconstruct it as a summer residence. Its building was hindered by further troubles in Italy, but by 1504 the work was well under way.

Mlle Chirol divides Amboise's constructions into two periods: 1502 to 1506, in which the influences of the French School of the Loire were dominant, and 1506 to 1509, when the constructions were in the style and under the direction of Rouen masons. Such Italians as worked there, she finds, were sculptors and painters rather than architects, and she considers that their influence was limited to their own fields. Her account of these two periods, of which the second is the more interesting, deserves to be studied in detail. The importation of sculptured fountains

and medallions from Italy, the work of Italian sculptors at Gaillon itself, the use by wood-carvers from Rouen of Veronese engraved designs for the woodwork of the chapel, the employment of Andrea Solario on wall-paintings, the marriage of Italianate arcaded galleries with Gothic turrets and dormers, the work of Pacello da Mercogliano in designing the gardens, combine to form a fascinating chapter in the history of the diffusion of Renaissance style. They are admirably studied by Mlle Chirol, who has combined a minute examination of the remains of Gaillon and of the representations of it with a no less minute study of the relevant accounts and other documents. Her book should remain a minor classic, and should add greatly to the interest with which visitors in the Vexin Normand study the remains of Gaillon, and idlers in Paris survey the 'Arc de Gaillon' in the courtyard of the Beaux Arts.

JOAN EVANS

L'Architecture religieuse du Haut Moyen Âge en France. Par JEAN HUBERT. 10½ × 8. Pp. 98. Paris: Imprimerie nationale. 1952. n.p.

The author modestly styles this work a collection; 'plans and notes will indicate the essential points of older and more modern discoveries that today enable us to follow the development of church architecture within the frontiers of modern France from the 5th to the 11th century'. Thirty-seven pages and one folding plate contain 179 drawings to a uniform scale (1: 1,000); a plan of every building is provided together with a few sections. Many are based on older accounts; a number show very scanty remains or fragments difficult to interpret. But we feel that their inclusion is justified for the sake of completeness. Several of the plans are new and contain important material and the inclusion of a number of composite drawings indicating the setting of an early church or group of churches is a particularly welcome feature.

The notice of each church is lucid and concise, giving the main facts—historical and archaeological—and providing references to fuller publications. This book does not provide a substitute for those publications, but, as a guide to the sources and an indication of the extent and importance of the material, it is an invaluable and indispensable instrument to the student of early Christian antiquities. One can only regret the small scale chosen—presumably for financial reasons—and the poor draughtsmanship of many of the plans. The short introduction does not attempt to draw any far-reaching conclusions. It is marked by a studied moderation, which makes us hope that a new and revised edition of the author's pre-war book on this subject will soon be available.

C. A. R. RADFORD

Naval Wars in the Levant, 1559-1853. By R. C. ANDERSON, Litt.D. 8½ × 5½. Pp. ix + 619. Liverpool: at the University Press, 1952. 30s.

Dr. Anderson's review of the sea wars of the eastern Mediterranean from the peace of Cateau-Cambresis in 1559 throughout the three centuries that preceded the advent of steam and iron fills a want long felt by those whose interest in history is maritime rather than national; for though many books have been written which touch on this or that campaign that extended into the eastern Mediterranean, few if any of them cover all the wars that were fought there. The author himself remarks upon the neglect of all general histories, including even Stenzel's *Seekriegesgeschichte*, of the sea war of 1645-69 between Venice and Crete, and indeed of the whole history of the Venetian navy, for years the dominant factor in the Mediterranean; and any student of naval history could cite other lacunae in the record. But he was fortunate enough, many years ago, to enlist the collaboration of an assistant who could work on Venetian archives on the spot, as well as on other material preserved elsewhere in Italian libraries, and provide him with the transcripts that he needed. Russian naval history is already well documented as, of

course, are those of England and France; only in the case of the Turkish fleet does the author confess to having been compelled to rely on what has been published in other countries. The depredations of the Barbary pirates brought into his area squadrons of the Swedish and Danish navies at the end of the eighteenth century, as well as those of the United States; and though those navies operated chiefly in the western basin, they also had occasion to enter the author's chosen area when they came to deal with Tunis and Tripoli. It should be explained, perhaps, that the 'Levant' of Dr. Anderson's title is used as a convenient abbreviation for the eastern basin of the Mediterranean; and that the latter, for good and sufficient reasons, is taken to include both the Black Sea, whence Turkish and Russian navies emerged into the main theatre, and the Adriatic, the home waters of that of Venice. The author does not interrupt the flow of his chronicle with footnotes or other references to documentary sources; but he appends a very full bibliography which, with his able summary of events at sea of three centuries, provides the student of the naval history of his chosen region with a comprehensive and reliable guide to his whole subject. It is to be hoped that Dr. Anderson will soon supplement this volume—and his former book dealing similarly with the Baltic—with an equally complete and erudite study of the sea history of the western Mediterranean.

H. G. THURSFIELD

Homesteads and Villages of South Africa. By JAMES WALTON. 11 x 8½. Pp. xii + 111. Pretoria: J. L. Van Schaik, Ltd., 1952. 55s.

This interesting and informative book is perhaps unique in its range and quality—its range is not sufficiently covered by its title; a reviewer's first duty then is to describe its aim.

It sketches the history of settlement in South Africa as an essential explanatory background for, and in intimate relation to, his record of the house-structures the settlers built, the plans they adopted, and the furnishings they made or acquired. As his papers on old Yorkshire houses showed, the author is an artist and draughtsman as well as a scholar, and the work has been carried in such leisure as his duties as Education Officer in Basutoland permitted. It is a credit to the Colonial Service, and must surely receive official recognition in due course. Part I deals with homesteads and villages of the Cape, the development of the house-type here and the church-type: Part II with homesteads beyond the Cape, and fortified steadings of the eastern frontier.

There is then a dramatic break, illustrating the essential history of South Africa settlement which is a 'repetition of escape from restraint and restriction': Part III deals with 'The Great Trek' 1835-7 and—reflecting the author's intense interest in structure—the 'Trek waggon', a home on wheels. Here are three pages of drawings.

The last Part, IV, deals with lands beyond the Orange; the first Voortrekker settlements are planned, and so are their later houses.

The format is a large quarto, which permits good illustration. Text and illustration occupy 100 pages—there are maps and village plans, about thirty-five plans and elevations of dwellings—great houses, small houses, cots, and temporary huts; constructional details and drawings of locally made furniture, sixty in all. At the end are fifty-five photographs of houses and countryside, some from old documents; a bibliography and good index. The dust jacket is a water-colour drawing, reproduced in colour on the largest scale possible, of a well-known Cape homestead 'Lormarius', by J. H. Pierneef. The book is finely printed (as your reviewer gathers, in Amsterdam), but there are no spelling mistakes.

Such ornate gable houses as 'Lormarius' receive due praise, and the evolution of the gable outline is set out and dated; to these products of wealth and security the houses of the early settlers provide a striking contrast. Single-storied, two-roomed, framed with wattle and daub, and thatched, they have the *stoep*, a social and structural feature derived from Holland. The

development in plan of the Cape house of the free burghers from these beginnings is studied historically as well as structurally: it is a fascinating record, with text and drawings interlocked. Before leaving the Province we are shown the characteristic furnishings—wall cupboards, tables, fireplace surrounds, and the kitchen with its appurtenances. The writing is 'alive'; the artistry associated with the Cape house is stressed—the background of mountain and blue sky, the avenues of oak and camphor trees, the vineyards and olive groves. So is the Cape village, its streets lined with trees; our admiration is invited in particular for the late-seventeenth-century lay-out of Stellenbosch.

Beyond the Orange the record retains its interest and the historical writing is full and vivid, but the illustration thins out. Twelve houses or hut types in addition to three churches and one public building, is all the author can offer. These are valuable, historically, and fundamental, but since 'nobody cares', the early, visual, record of a great achievement of white settlement in Natal and Transvaal has to be gathered in holes and corners for the most part, and reconstructed out of ruin. The author in his final paragraph asks for extended regional studies of the country's architectural history, and for a 'folk park' where surviving early house types can be re-erected, for 'soon none will remain and the chance will be lost for ever'. It is to be hoped that the deserved success of this pioneer book may have such a result.

C. F.

Archaeology in the Field. By O. G. S. CRAWFORD, C.B.E., Litt.D., F.B.A. 10 x 7½. Pp. 280. London: Phoenix House Ltd., 1953. 42s.

The publication of O. G. S. Crawford's considered views on field archaeology contained in this book is an important event. For a generation past we have been receiving instalments of his wisdom chiefly through the pages of his own creation *Antiquity*, and much that has appeared there comes to us again in expanded form in this book. Thus, though the book is packed with good things, its content will not be new to archaeologists. But to one who is glad to be his disciple, and who has profited by many a Crawfordian monologue, the work has a peculiar interest. He is our most considerable field archaeologist since Pitt Rivers, and the influence he has had on those who are leading these studies today has been correspondingly great. It is unnecessary to list the various ways in which Crawford has revolutionized the practice of field archaeology, for they are all exemplified here. The peculiar quality of this book lies in the fact that those who read it and have also been privileged to know him must feel the strong imprint of his personality on every page. This is not to say that the experience is invariably satisfactory, for those blemishes which some of us have grown to appreciate can be sensed with just as much pungency as the general weight of learning, experience, and common sense which informs these pages. Anyone in future years who wants to know what Crawford was really like must read this book.

It is not addressed to the armchair archaeologist. All through his career Crawford has been on the move in and above this country and many others, and the work is heavily impregnated with the open air. Another aspect of the author is seen in the fine series of photographs which illustrate it, fine both as photographs pure and simple and as keenly observed illuminations of the points he wishes to make in his text.

His mind has always been refreshingly ready to seize on anything which can throw a wider light on his theme. There are few subjects or matters of observation which cannot be brought to serve the purpose of an archaeologist gifted with constructive imagination and they are all marshalled in here, whether place-name study, palaeobotany, cartography, the mode of life of contemporary primitives, air-photography, the habits of early road users, folk-lore, etc.

We renew our acquaintance with the well-known tirades against outmoded attitudes of mind which impede the progress of archaeology in this country and abroad. Our near neighbours, who

regard themselves as being in the forefront of culture, are shown as being still quite unaware of their essential backwardness so that vital areas continue to be withdrawn from that topographical and distributional approach to archaeology which has been one of Crawford's most important contributions to his subject. There is much truth in this, but Crawford sometimes seems to forget that the Latins have no series of maps comparable to those put out by our Ordnance Survey. This is a great handicap to effective field-work and Crawford himself would have been badly gravelled by such a lack. If people cannot readily have access to good maps they cannot easily become map conscious.

But Crawford has never been content to be merely a Jeremiah. His great virtue is that he has constantly been a doer, and one who has been equally successful in producing action by others.

All archaeologists must read this book, and its importance is hardly less for geographers and historians.

C. W. PHILLIPS

English Place-Name Society, Vols. XX, XXI, XXII. *The Place-Names of Cumberland*. By Miss A. M. ARMSTRONG, Prof. BRUCE DICKINS, and others. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$. Pp. vi + 258; 259-458; lxxx + 459-565. Cambridge: at the University Press. 1950, 1952. 18s. per vol.

Unlike the earlier publications of the English Place-Name Society, *The Place-Names of Cumberland* form three slim volumes of which the first two appeared in 1950, the long-expected third volume has had to wait until the end of 1952. Work upon them had been largely done before Sir Allen Mawer, the Society's founder, died in 1942, and no blame attaches to the Society for subsequent delays. Nor can fault be found with the quality of the work, which is excellent. Miss Aileen Armstrong, who has been responsible for collecting the material, much of it from unpublished sources, has been most thorough-going in her research. Much more attention has been devoted to field-names than was given in earlier volumes, and they are now more usefully given under the parishes in which they occur. In other respects the general arrangement is unaltered. The present publication of the English Place-Name Society renders a special service by including many pages (pp. lxiii-lxxx) of addenda and corrigenda to previous volumes.

Cumberland, the land of the Cymry, is a region in which place-names reveal successive layers of population and language to an extent that is hardly equalled elsewhere. Place-name study forms an invaluable supplement to historical record and at the same time is a corrective to it; for it discloses distribution and character of population, elements that are independent of political allegiance. Take first the Celtic factor. There is the usual survival of Celtic (or pre-Celtic) names of rivers, though lake-names are almost invariably of later origin. More interesting is the disappearance after the Roman occupation, of the names of all Romano-British forts. Only Carlisle in Cumberland, like Corbridge in Northumberland, retained its early nomenclature, and probably for the same reason—that in these two places settlement was in some sort continuous. Local traditions that depict King Arthur as holding his court in merry Carlisle are, it is true, of late origin, and cannot be traced back with certainty before the fourteenth century. Yet the ubiquity of Celtic names for topographical features throughout the uplands of the county is proof of the strength of British revival. Admittedly there is only one instance—that of Triermain—of a homestead retaining a typically native name; but Celtic farms were not like Anglian villages; they were less likely to leave permanent traces of their existence. One must note, however, the survival in Arthuret of the Arfderydd which was the scene in 573 of the defeat of a British leader named Gwenddolen, whose name itself appears to live on in the neighbouring Carwinley (thirteenth century Kar-Windelhou). A number of St. Mungo dedications testify to the missionary activities of St. Kentigern in the late sixth century, while Constantine, king of Cumbria in the next generation, came later to be commemorated as the patron saint of Wetheral.

The Anglo-Saxon conquest and settlement of Cumberland followed in the seventh century; probably not very early in the century, for there are few place-names of the earliest type and no evidences of pagan cults. So far as one can tell the line of invasion seems to have been that of the Eden valley rather than the Tyne gap, across which a solid block of British settlement remained for some centuries to come. Place-names and archaeological remains unite in showing the victorious Angles as settling down on the fertile farmland of the Carlisle plain and of the strip along the western seaboard, and as leaving to others the penetration of the lakeland hills.

For there were others to follow; not the Danes as in eastern England but the Norwegians who had carved out for themselves kingdoms in Ireland and acquired there a Goidelic strain that has left traces in its nomenclature. The date of their coming can be fixed by reference to the Durham *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* which describes a Northumbrian prince as driven eastward across the Pennines shortly before 915, and so it followed by a few years the Scandinavian immigration into the Cheshire district of Wirral. The new-comers brought with them the cult of Irish saints—St. Bridget, St. Brynach, and St. Sanctan. They pushed up the dales and settled on hill pastures, mingling also with the former inhabitants until the whole country was filled with a mixed British-English-Irish-Scandinavian population. A further Gaelic wave which surged over the north-east of the county seems to have come in from Scotland in the eleventh century. To it belongs Gille, who has left his name in Gilsland, and his father Bueth whom the editors of this work decline to associate with Bewcastle.

A final immigration is that recorded in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* for 1092. William Rufus is there said to have sent many English peasants with their wives and stock to dwell round Carlisle and till the ground. Place-name study shows that Flemings formed an important element among the new settlers. There is a Flimby, or village of the Flemings, to balance the Bretteby of the Brythons and the Scotteby of the Gaels.

EDMUND CRASTER

Blenheim Palace. By DAVID GREEN. Published by *Country Life*, 1951. £6. 6s.

Mr. David Green's history of Blenheim Palace is a very splendidly produced book, admirably illustrated not only with photographs of the building and its contents, but also with reproductions of early drawings made by the architects and decorators of the building, often as alternative schemes to those actually adopted or in some cases showing the original state of a feature which has been altered by the changing taste of later generations. The most important part of the book from the point of view of the Society of Antiquaries is the main theme of the actual building of Blenheim Palace; this is surely the best put together and best documented account of a great building enterprise of the early eighteenth century that we have. The story of the building of Blenheim Palace is so bound up with the politics of the reign of Queen Anne and George I and so diversified by the remarkable qualities of character of the chief people concerned, including both of the clients and their architect, that Mr. Green, as compared with other architectural historians, had a very dramatic story to tell. Moreover, the violence of the quarrels and the litigiousness of the first Duchess of Marlborough have ensured the preservation of a vast quantity of documents bearing on all aspects of the story. These vary from merely business letters and accounts to angry, witty, and extremely human letters written by all parties to the difficulties which arose. In spite of this unparalleled documentation it is interesting to note that though we can get a pretty good idea why Blenheim Palace cost so much more money than the estimate, we cannot claim that we really know exactly how the money went. This should provoke some very interesting reflections on the relations of documents to architectural history. A parallel in the middle ages is Westminster Abbey, one of the most elaborately documented buildings of its age and of which we cannot even now be certain of the date of its beginning.

G. F. WEBB

Normandy Diary, being a Record of Survivals and Losses of Historical Monuments in North-Western France, together with those in the island of Walcheren and in that part of Belgium traversed by the 21st Army Group in 1944-5. By LORD METHUEN, with an introduction by Sir CHARLES LEONARD WOOLLEY. 11 × 8½ Pp. xxv + 263. London: Robert Hale Ltd, 1952. £3. 3s.

Lord Methuen's *Normandy Diary* is a book of great charm. It is sub-titled 'a Record of Survivals and Losses of Historical Monuments in North-Western France, Belgium and the Island of Walcheren', and from a purely antiquarian point of view this is its main importance. Lord Methuen served with the Monuments, Fine Arts, and Archives Service abroad from August 1944 to June 1945, during which time he was attached to the British lines of communication, and his duties were to follow up the work of the officers who preceded him with the armies and who, especially in the early days of the campaign in northern Europe, were moving so quickly forward that they rarely had time to complete their work in any one area. The text of the book is easily and pleasantly written and presents an extraordinarily interesting picture of northern France immediately after liberation. Lord Methuen's French connexions and many French friends have made this aspect of the book particularly well informed. One word of caution must be added: Lord Methuen's modesty might give the uninformed reader the idea that his duties consisted entirely in running round enjoying and observing the works of art and architecture in northern France and the very practical help that he was able to give as an intermediary between the French authorities and the armies in the field hardly appears from the short entries recording conversations with various French officers of the Monuments Service and archivists, on the one hand, or billeting officers and town majors on the other.

The aspect of the book of most concern to the Society of Antiquaries is that it gives a remarkably complete survey of the material of almost all dates at a given moment, and very large numbers of monuments quite unfamiliar even to students of French art history are briefly recorded. Quite incidentally, a number of pieces of curious and isolated archaeological information occur from time to time, as for example the footnote on page 98, in which the legend of the survival, incorporated in a country house in England, of part of the cloisters of the abbey of Jumièges is set finally in its proper light. This is a problem which crops up from time to time in the experience of French and English medieval archaeologists.

The book is extremely handsomely produced and contains just over a hundred pages of well-chosen illustrations, mainly photographs, but including a few charming reproductions of Lord Methuen's paintings, mainly water-colour sketches. In addition there are a great many pen and ink sketches, sometimes of details and occasionally of architectural compositions, which greatly enhance the book.

G. F. WEBB

A Grammar of English Heraldry. By the late W. H. ST. JOHN HOPE. 2nd edition revised by ANTHONY R. WAGNER. 7½ × 5. Pp. xiii + 100. Cambridge: at the University Press, 1953. 8s. 6d.

The reappearance of this little book is very welcome, for it and Mr. Wagner's *Heraldry in England* are, each in its own way, as good introductions to heraldry as have yet appeared. Mr. Wagner's revision has been very conservative and he has made few changes except in the bibliography (Chapter XII). In this conservatism Fellows will sympathize whole-heartedly, but recent research has revealed some mistakes which should be corrected when the time comes for yet another edition.

H. S. L.

PERIODICAL LITERATURE

ANTIQUITY, no. 105:—Cupola tombs in the Aegean and in Iberia: a criticism of a recent theory, by Sir J. Myres; Hut-circles in North-west Wales, by W. J. Hemp, C. A. Gresham and comments by C. A. R. Radford; The earliest Neolithic phase, by O. G. S. Crawford; Vases supports, by R. de Z. Hall; Another find of manuscripts in Palestine; Excavations at Glastonbury Abbey, 1952, by C. A. R. Radford; Ringham Low—a correction, by L. and E. Alcock.

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R.I.B.A. JOURN., 3rd ser., vol. 60, no. 3:—Inigo Jones, Architect and man of letters, by R. Wittkower. Vol. 60, no. 5:—The siting of Greek buildings, by J. Needham.

COAT OF ARMS, vol. 2, no. 13:—Heraldry in country houses—Wiston, by C. R. Humphery-Smith and A. C. Maxwell; The Chimaera, by Sir G. Bellew; Heraldry in the great west window, Exeter Cathedral, by M. C. F. Bell; Sisters in arms, by A. C. Cole.

JOURN. SOC. ARMY HIST. RESEARCH, vol. 31, no. 125:—The Royal 1st Devon Yeomanry, 1846, by L. E. Buckell; The Prince of Wales's Regiment of Horse, 1642–46, by P. Young; Infantry uniforms of the King's German Legion, by F. Herrmann and W. Y. Carman; Three eighteenth-century portraits, by C. C. P. Lawson; Local military forces in Hertfordshire, 1793–1814, by J. H. Busby; Minorca and the Navy in 1799, by C. T. Atkinson; 23rd and 88th Foot, c. 1833, by W. Y. Carman; The Rifle Brigade, c. 1833, by W. Y. Carman.

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JOURN. R. ASIATIC SOC., 1953, pts. 1 and 2:—Tibetan inscriptions at Žva-*hi* Lha Khañ, by H. E. Richardson; The Sacred Mountain of the old Asiatic religion, by H. G. Q. Wales; The date of the Malacca legal codes, by R. Winstedt; Two South Arabian antiquities, by W. E. N. Kensdale.

ANNUAL OF THE BR. SCHOOL AT ATHENS, no. 47:—Pottery from Eretria, by J. Boardman; Late Helladic tombs at Khalkis, by V. Hankey; Inscriptions from Commagene, by P. M. Fraser; New fragments of IG II²10, by D. Hereward; Notes on some inscriptions from Kalyvia Sokhas, by M. N. Tod; A list of Clazomenian pottery, by R. M. Cook; Cretan relief pithoi in Dr. Giamalakes's collection, by T. J. Dunbabin; Painted inscriptions on Chiot pottery, by R. M. Cook and A. G. Woodhead; The Cnidia, by G. E. Bean and J. M. Cook; Recent restoration and preservation of the monuments of the Knights in Rhodes, by I. D. Kondis; Type, group and series: a reconsideration of some coroplastic fundamentals, by R. V. Nicholls; Excavations at Stavros, Ithaca, in 1937, by H. Waterhouse; Late Minoan warrior-graves from Ayios Ioannis and the New Hospital site at Knossos, by M. S. F. Hood and P. de Jong; The dedication of Callimachus. A postscript, by B. B. Shefton; A sherd from Pelikata, by W. A. Heurtley.

BURLINGTON MAG., June 1953:—A glass bowl with the 'Judgment of Paris', by G. M. A. Richter and R. W. Smith; Portraits of Elizabeth I, by E. Auerbach.

CONNOISSEUR, Mar. 1953:—Knife and fork handles and the Bow collector, by J. A. Ainslie; Chinese porcelain and pottery. Some pieces in the collection of Mrs. Alfred Clarke, by B. Gray; Arms and armour from the Hearst Collection acquired for the Tower of London Armouries: Armour, by A. R. Duffy; Fire-arms, by A. N. Kennard; A Georgian chest and its Renaissance prototype, by P. Ward-Jackson.

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- GEOG. JOURN., vol. 119, Mar. 1953:—The Land's End Peninsula: the influence of history on agriculture, by N. Hilton.
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- BULL. INST. HIST. RESEARCH, vol. 26, no. 73:—The English baronage and the income tax of 1436, by T. B. Pugh and C. D. Ross; 'The imperial crown of this realm': Henry VIII, Constantine the Great, and Polydore Vergil, by R. Keobner; An English account of the election of Urban VI, 1378, by L. Macfarlane.
- ENG. HIST. REV., vol. 68, no. 266:—The *Camera Regis* under Henry II, pt. i, by J. E. A. Jolliffe; Corruption and reform under Edward VI and Mary: the example of wardship, by J. Hurstfield; A letter from Lewis of Savoy to Edward I, by A. J. Taylor; John Norbury (c. 1350-1414): an Esquire of Henry IV, by M. Barber.
- TRANS. R. HIST. SOC., 5th ser., vol. 3:—Autobiographies of the Middle Ages, by P. Lehmann; Scottish rulers and the religious orders, 1070-1153, by G. W. S. Barrow; Sherborne, Glastonbury, and the expansion of Wessex, by H. P. R. Finberg; Impeachment and attainder, by T. F. T. Plucknett.
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- NUM. CHRON. (1952) pts. 1-2:—The Alexander coinage of Nikokles of Paphos, by J. M. F. May; Notes on the Augustan Cistophori, by A. M. Woodward; The wardrobe of Artemis, by C. T. Seltman; Sequence marks on the denarii of Publius Crepusius, by C. A. Hersch; The different styles of the Roman republican coinage, by H. Mattingly; The 'military' class in the coinage of the Civil Wars of A.D. 68-69, by H. Mattingly; Revolt and subversion: the so-called 'military' coinage of A.D. 69 re-examined, by C. Kraay; The Poundbury hoard of Roman fourth-century copies and their prototypes, by A. S. Robertson; A hoard of barbarous radiates from East Cornwall, by P. V. Hill; Pegged Venetian coin dies: their place in the history of die adjustment, by P. Grierson; Some new Arab-Sassanian coins, by J. Walker; Masham treasure trove, by D. E. Bateman; A medal of Vincenzo Paterno, Duca di Carcaci, by W. O. Smith; Dies for an imitation *zecchino*, by R. A. G. Carson; A Corinthian stater overstruck by Metapontum, by C. H. V. Sutherland; A civil war hoard from Fisher-row, Musselburgh, Midlothian, by R. Kerr; Two coins of Edgar recently discovered at York, by R. H. Dolley; Orston, Gloucester, Axminster, and Aylesbury Treasure Trove, by R. H. Dolley; Ancient British gold coins found in Denmark, by R. Thomsen; Cirencester Park Theodosian hoard, by B. H. St. J. O'Neil; A hoard of Roman republican denarii from Rio Tinto, Spain, by R. A. G. Carson; A 3rd century roman hoard from Yorkshire, by E. J.

W. Hillyard and W. V. Wade; A follis of Heraclius with two Sicilian counter-marks, by P. D. Whitting; A unique gold coin of the Hindu Kings of Kabul, by A. Ghose.

PALESTINE EXPLORATION QUARTERLY, Jan.-Apr. 1953:—Persia, Greece, and Israel, by J. L. Myres; An unknown Aramaic cursive, by S. A. Birnbaum; On the meaning of *Goren*, by S. Smith; The problem of the Exodus, by M. B. Rowton; The war of Gideon and Midian: a military approach, by A. Malamat; 'Church' in the New Testament, by E. F. Bishop.

PROC. PREHIST. SOC., 1952:—Report on the reinvestigation of the Westley (Bury St. Edmunds) Skull Site, by D. F. W. Baden-Powell and K. P. Oakley; A Mesolithic chipping-floor at Oakhanger, Selbourne, Hants, by W. F. Rankine; Beitzsch and Knossos, by H. Hencken; Triskeles, Palmettes and Horse-Brooches, by Sir C. Fox; Prehistoric settlements on Dartmoor and the Cornish Moors, by C. A. R. Radford; Tankards and tankard handles of the British Early Bronze Age, by J. X. W. P. Corcoran; The Mesolithic in the South of France: a critical analysis, by M. Smith.

BULL. JOHN RYLANDS LIB., vol. 35, no. 2:—The Haigh ironworks, 1789-1856: a Nobleman's enterprise during the Industrial Revolution, by A. Birch; The origin of the Janissaries, by J. A. B. Palmer; Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln, by Sir M. Powicke.

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JOURN. ROYAL INST. OF CORNWALL, vol. 1, pt. 2, 1952:—Late Bronze Age Burial at St. Just in Roseland, with an archaeological survey of the Roseland peninsula, by P. and S. Bousfield.

JOURN. DERBY. ARCH. AND N.H.S., no. 72, 1952:—Lead mining in 18th-century Ashover, by G. G. Hopkinson; The Church of All Saints, Dale Abbey, by G. G. Willis; Some lost streets of Chesterfield, by W. E. Godfrey; A Derby apothecary's bill, by S. Taylor; Archaeological discoveries at Oakes Park, Norton, by W. A. Timperley; Snelston Hall and its owners, by the Editors; Sir Cornelius Vermuyden and the Dovegang Lead Mine, by F. N. Fisher; Romano-British 'Derbyshire Ware' kiln site at Hazelwood, by S. Kay and R. G. Hughes; Stone age relics from the Hartington Moor district; A perforated stone hammer found at Chelmorton, by J. W. Jackson; A find of medieval pottery at Repton, by J. Stow; Cromford Bridge Chapel; The execution of Charles I, by F. Fisher; Exploration of prehistoric sites in East Derbyshire, by A. L. Armstrong.

DEVONSHIRE ASS. REPORT AND TRANS., vol. 84:—Records at Cruwys Morchard, by M. C. S. Cruwys; Roman objects from Cadbury Castle, by Lady Fox; The Cluniac Priory of St. Mary, Carswell, by R. Graham and C. A. R. Radford; The City of Exeter and the property of the dissolved monasteries, by J. Youings; The open fields of Braunton, by A. H. Slee; A note on the rood screen of St. Nectan's Church, Hartland, by A. W. B. Messenger; A Celtic site on Coombe Down, by R. Pickard; A lady of quality of Roman Devon, by C. E. Stevens.

PROC. DORSET N.H. & ARCH. SOC., vol. 73, 1951:—The Bournemouth area in neolithic and early Bronze Age times, by J. B. Calkin; The development of Corfe Castle, by W. D. Simpson; Archaeological

- fieldwork in Dorset in 1951, by R. A. H. Farrar; Four centuries of farming systems in Dorset, 1500-1900, by G. E. Fussell; Dorset incumbents, 1542-1731, pt. iv, by G. D. Squibb.
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- Vol. 62, no. 246:—Early history of Chigwell School, by G. Stott; Canvey Island, by J. H. Holmes; Essex parishes 1300-1540, by W. R. Powell; Cork: trees, sand and land, by A. R. Solly; The Scotts of Woolston Hall, by E. J. Erith.
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- TRANS. EAST HERTS. ARCH. SOC., vol. 13, pt. 1:—Some pottery from the Roman cemetery at Welwyn Grange, by J. Holmes; Portraits of Seth Ward, Lord Bishop of Sarum, by H. Williams; Sidelights on brasses in Hertfordshire Churches, by the late H. C. Andrews; Verulamium, 1949: Interim Report, by Mrs. M. A. Cotton; Pancake Hall, Welham Green: excavation of Homestead Moat, by J. P. C. Kent; Two Hertfordshire Doctors, by I. M. Graham.
- TRANS. LANCS. AND CHESHIRE ANT. SOC., vol. 103, 1951:—Flint implements from the Worst-horne Moors, Lancashire, by G. B. Leach; The Earldom and County Palatine of Chester, by G. Barraclough; The Duchy and County Palatine of Lancaster, by R. Somerville; The Elizabethan playhouse at Prescott, Lancashire, by F. A. Bailey; Lancashire coal, Cheshire salt, and the rise of Liverpool, by T. C. Barker; Extracts from the private ledger of Arthur Heywood of Liverpool, Merchant and Banker, by H. A. Ormerod; The Hughes papers: Lancashire social life, 1780-1825, by J. R. Harris.
- TRANS. LEICS. ARCH. SOC., vol. 28, 1952:—Archaeology in Leicestershire, 1939-51, by D. T.-D. Clarke; Anglo-Saxon discoveries at Harston, by G. C. Dunning; A thirteenth-century kiln-site at Potters Marston, by J. Haynes; The Quakers of Leicestershire, 1660-1714, by R. H. Evans; Papers relating to Leicestershire published in *Reports and Papers of the Associated Architectural Societies*, 1877-1931, by J. Simmons.
- TRANS. LONDON & MIDDX. ARCH. SOC., n.s., vol. 11, pt. 2:—The boundaries of the Westminster Charters, by M. Gelling; A Middlesex diary, by M. Robbins; Norman domestic architecture in England, by M. Wood; The Episcopal registers of Roger Walden and Nicholas Bubwith. I. Roger Walden, by U. C. Hannam; The bells of Middlesex, by the late H. B. Walters; The Middlesex-Herts. boundary at Stanmore, by C. F. Baylis; Cottages at Harmondsworth. A drawing by H. E. Chiosso; The brasses of Middlesex. III. Chelsea, by H. K. Cameron; John de Drokensford, III. by N. G. Brett-James; Extracts from the shorthand diary of the Rev. John Wade, M.A., transcribed by A. Foyer; Report on the excavations at Brockley Hill, Middlesex, August and September, 1951, by P. G. Suggett.
- TRANS. NEWBURY DIST. FIELD CLUB, vol. 10, no. 1:—Ancient Roads, by H. H. Coghlan; Archaeological air-photography in Britain, by D. B. Harden; 13th-century domestic architecture, by M. E. Wood; Excavation at Odstone Down, by P. P. Rhodes; The Battle of Ashdown, by H. Burne.
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- Die Bronzezeit in Süd- und Westdeutschland. Von Friedrich Holste. Handbuch der Urgeschichte Deutschlands, Band 1. $11 \times 8\frac{1}{2}$. Pp. 128. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1953. DM. 23.
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- Antas do concelho de Reguengos de Monsaraz: materias para o estudo da cultura megalítica em Portugal. Por Georg e Vera Leisner. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$. Pp. 326+pls. 63. Lisboa, 1951.
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- Old World Prehistory: Paleolithic. By Hallam L. Movius, Jr. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$. Reprint: *Anthropology Today*, 1953. Pp. 163-92.
- Swanscombe man. By Kenneth P. Oakley, Ph.D., F.G.S. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$. Reprint: *Proc. Geologists' Assoc.*, vol. 63, pt. 4, 1952, pp. 271-300.
- Studien über die schwedische Bootartkultur. Von Andreas Oldeberg. 12×9 . Pp. 282. Stockholm: Wahlström & Widstrand, 1952. Kr. 75.
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- Deutschlands Urgeschichte. Von Gustav Schwantes. $8 \times 5\frac{1}{2}$. Pp. 343. Stuttgart: Franckh'sche Verlags-handlung, 1952.
- Das alamannische Gräbenfeld von Bülach. Von Joachim Werner. Monographien zur Ur- und Frühgeschichte der Schweiz, Band 9. $12 \times 8\frac{1}{2}$. Pp. viii+144. Basel: Verlag Birkhäuser, 1953.

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- Roman Britain and the Roman army. Collected papers by Eric Birley. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$. Pp. xi+196. Kendal: Titus Wilson, 1953. 15s.
- Roman Gaul. By Olwen Brogan, F.S.A., with drawings by Edgar Holloway. $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5$. Pp. x+250. London: G. Bell & Sons, 1953. 21s.
- The Roman occupation of South-western Scotland, being reports of excavations and surveys carried out under the auspices of the Glasgow Archaeological Society. By John Clarke, J. M. Davidson, Anne S. Robertson, J. K. St. Joseph, edited for the Society, with an historical survey, by S. N. Miller. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$. Pp. xix+246. Glasgow: Robert MacLehose & Co., The University Press, 1952.
- La vie quotidienne en Gaule pendant la paix romaine. Par Paul-Marie Duval. $8 \times 5\frac{1}{2}$. Pp. 364. Librairie Hachette, 1952. Fr. 700.
- Excavation of a traverse of Margidunum. By Felix Oswald, D.Sc., F.S.A., F.G.S. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$. Pp. 47. University of Nottingham, 1952. 7s. 6d.
- Studien zur Topographie des Forum Romanum. Von Erik Welin. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$. Pp. 232. Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup, 1953.

SCANDINAVIAN ARCHAEOLOGY

- Målruner og Trolldruner. Av Anders Bæksted. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6$. Pp. 366 (English summary, pp. 317-41). København, Gyldendalske Boghandel. Nordisk Forlag, 1952.
- Källa Ödekyrka. Av Ragnhild Boström. $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5$. Pp. 42. Svenska Fornminnesplatser Nr. 37. Stockholm: Wahlström & Widstrands Förlag, 1949.
- Computus med särskild hänsyn till Runstaven och den Borgerliga Kalendern. Av Nils Lithberg. $11\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$. Pp. 326. Nordiska Museets Handlingar: 29. Stockholm, 1953.
- Kronobergs slottsruin. Av Armin Tuulse. $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5$. Pp. 36. Svenska Fornminnesplatser Nr. 38. Stockholm: Wahlström & Widstrands Förlag, 1949.
- Risinge Kyrkor. Av Per-Olof Westlund. $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5$. Pp. 35. Svenska Fornminnesplatser Nr. 39. Stockholm: Wahlström & Widstrands Förlag, 1950.
- Vadstena Slott. Av Per-Olof Westlund. $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5$. Pp. 26. Svenska Fornminnesplatser Nr. 40. Stockholm: Wahlström & Widstrands Förlag, 1952.

SCULPTURE

Dictionary of British Sculptors, 1660-1851. By Rupert Gunnis. 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ ×7. Pp. 514. London: Odhams Press, 1953. £3. 3s.

Later English Romanesque Sculpture, 1140-1210. By George Zarnecki, Ph.D. 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ ×4 $\frac{3}{4}$. Pp. 68+ pls. 133. London: Tiranti, 1953. 15s.

SEALS

Svenska Skråsigill. K. G. Cedergrens efterlämnade anteckningar redigerade och kompletterade av Gösta von Schoultz. 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ ×7 $\frac{1}{2}$. Pp. 64. Nordiska Museets Handlingar: 20. Stockholm, 1944.

Sceaux conservés dans les archives de la ville de Montpellier. Texte et 492 dessins de M. Oudot de Dainville archiviste de la ville de Montpellier. 13×9 $\frac{1}{2}$. Pp. 277. Montpellier: Imprimerie Lafitte-Lauriol, 1952.

WALL PAINTINGS

Björåsättersmålningarna. The Legends of St. Thomas Becket and of the Holy Cross painted in a Swedish Church. By Andreas Lindblom. 12 $\frac{1}{2}$ ×9 $\frac{1}{2}$. Pp. 80. Stockholm: Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien, 1953.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES

Thursday, 5th February 1953. Dr. D. B. Harden, Vice-President, in the Chair.
Mr. John R. C. Hamilton read a paper on the Broch and post-Broch settlements at Jarlshof.

Thursday, 12th February 1953. Sir James Mann, President, in the Chair.
Dr. T. Alwyn Lloyd, Rev. Dom. A. Hughes, and Dr. H. N. Savory were admitted Fellows.

Thursday, 19th February 1953. Sir James Mann, President, in the Chair.
Mr. G. C. Dunning read a paper on Late Saxon and Medieval pottery: its chronology and continental affinities.

Thursday, 26th February 1953. Sir James Mann, President, in the Chair.
Mr. W. F. Oakeshott was admitted a Fellow.
Miss Maire MacDermott read a paper on the Kells Crozier in the British Museum.

Thursday, 5th March 1953. Sir James Mann, President, in the Chair.
Earl Spencer was admitted a Fellow.

The following were elected Fellows of the Society: Mr. F. C. Madan, Mr. P. G. Summers, Mr. R. Richmond-Brown, Major P. C. Fletcher, Mr. A. G. R. Buck, Mr. A. Welford, Mr. J. Walton, Sir H. Cohen, Hon. W. R. S. Bathurst, Dr. D. S. Rice, Mr. D. Hamer, and Mr. A. L. F. Rivet.

Mr. F. W. Steer, F.S.A., exhibited a heraldic pedigree of the Cornwallis family compiled by Sir Thomas Cornwallis (d. 1604). Mr. B. W. Pearce, F.S.A., exhibited an album of photographs taken during the Richborough excavations. Mr. R. L. S. Bruce-Mitford, Secretary, exhibited a fragment of pottery found at Quorn, Leicestershire.

Thursday, 12th March 1953. Sir James Mann, President, in the Chair.
Mr. F. C. Madan, Mr. D. Hamer, and Hon. W. R. S. Bathurst were admitted Fellows.
Mr. M. R. Holmes, F.S.A., and Major-General H. D. W. Sitwell read a paper entitled 'New Light on St. Edward's Crown'.

Thursday, 19th March 1953. Sir James Mann, President, in the Chair.
Dr. D. S. Rice, Major P. C. Fletcher, and Prof. M. J. O'Kelly were admitted Fellows.
Mr. E. Clive Rouse, F.S.A., read a paper on early wall-paintings and other discoveries in Coombes Church, Sussex.

Thursday, 16th April 1953. Dr. D. B. Harden, Vice-President, in the Chair.
The Chairman referred to the loss which the Society had sustained in the death of Her Majesty Queen Mary, Senior Royal Fellow. Those present stood as a mark of respect.

Mr. H. S. Gracie and Mr. P. G. Summers were admitted Fellows.
Sir Mortimer Wheeler, Director, and Miss K. M. Richardson, F.S.A., read a paper on excavations at Stanwick, 1952.

Thursday, 23rd April 1953. Anniversary Meeting. Sir James Mann, President, in the Chair.
Mr. John Charlton and Mr. A. R. Duffy were appointed Scrutators of the Ballot.

The following report of the Council for the year 1952-3 was read:

Research.—Grants from the Research Fund have been made for the walls of Cricklade; the motte and bailey castle at Middleham; the site of Kingsbury, Old Windsor; the Expedition to Tripolitania; the Neolithic site at Goodland, Co. Antrim; the medieval village at Woodperry; Blackburn Castle; Chester Roman fortress; Low Ham Roman villa; the Kouklia Expedition;

and the Lullingstone Roman Villa, the future excavation of which the Society has undertaken to sponsor.

Morris Fund.—Grants have been made from the Morris Fund towards the repair of churches at St. Mary le Bow, Durham; Stebbing (Essex); Tetbury (Glos.); Broughton Aluph and Selling (Kent); Brampton Ash (Leics.); Billingborough and Rippingale (Lincs.); Chiselhampton (Oxon.); St. John the Baptist, Peterborough; Stoke Courcy (Som.); Long Melford (Suffolk); Chelsham (Surrey); Bishopstone and Strethall (Sussex); for the Toll House on Bewdley Bridge (Worcs.); the preservation of the Pieta at Glenthams (Lincs.), and the replacement of stained glass at Guestwick (Norfolk).

Croft Lyons Fund.—The work on the *Dictionary of British Arms* has been continued, 4,458 cards having been added during the year. A part-time assistant was engaged in June to help the Editors in indexing and sorting.

Publications.—The *Antiquaries Journal* has appeared regularly. *Archaeologia*, vol. 95, is in print and will appear in the summer. Research Reports on *Roman Colchester*, by M. R. Hull, and *Atchana-Alalakh*, by Sir L. Woolley, are in the press and also *Scripta Minoa III*, edited by Sir John Myres.

The Society has undertaken the publication of two sheets of the map of Roman Libya as part of the International Map of the Roman Empire.

Library.—The number of readers who frequently use the Library has somewhat increased. During the year some 900 books and periodicals were borrowed by Fellows.

The binding has on the whole kept pace with the intake of current material, while several folio and smaller volumes of standard works have been rebound. The sale to Fellows of duplicate books and periodicals ended on 23rd December with satisfactory results.

Miss Y. Crossman, having been appointed Assistant Cataloguer, took up her duties on 1st January. Some gaps in our sets of periodicals both English and foreign have been filled, exchanges have been developed, and recently published books have been acquired from abroad by application for review copies.

During the past five months progress has been made in the cataloguing of the Society's special collections of Prints and Drawings. The foreign material in the brown portfolios has been charted. The entire rearrangement and cataloguing of the Prints and Drawings of sepulchral monuments, amounting to some ten large red boxes, is reaching completion.

General.—Regular meetings have been held throughout the session.

An appeal for a Bicentenary Publications Fund was issued in May 1952. A response has been received from seventy-five Fellows, who have contributed £328 in donations, £302 under seven-year covenant, and securities to the value of approximately £6,500, not including the gifts reported last year. The Fund remains open.

The Society has sponsored the formation of a National Committee for Great Britain under the International Committee on Ancient Glass.

In collaboration with the Georgian Group and others, the Society opposed the application of the Lewisham Borough Council for a faculty to alter the character of the disused churchyard of Lewisham Parish Church. At the Consistory Court of Southwark on 24th February 1953 the Chancellor ruled that the Society and the Georgian Group had no *locus standi* as objectors, not being parishioners or property-owners in the parish. The Society's witnesses subsequently gave evidence for an objector who was a parishioner, and the Chancellor dismissed the petition of the Lewisham Council. The Society has urged the Central Council for the Care of Churches to circulate advice on the proper care of disused churchyards.

The following have been appointed to represent the Society: Mr. A. R. Wagner on the Council of the National Trust, and Mr. G. F. Webb on the Glastonbury Excavation Committee.

A bequest of £100 was received under the will of the late V. B. Crowther-Beynon, F.S.A., and of £50 for the Research Fund under the will of the late Sir Frederic Kenyon, Past President.

The following gifts, other than printed books, have been received:

From J. W. Bridge, Esq., F.S.A.:—

A print of 'A Few of the F.S.A.'s', by 'Croquis'.

From H. F. O. Evans, Esq., F.S.A.:—

Rubbings of brasses from Somerton, Oxon., and Eaton Bray, Beds.

From Miss M. A. Hogg:—

Fifty-five lantern slides of Prehistoric and Roman subjects.

From Sir Thomas Kendrick, F.S.A.:—

Twelve photographs of the statue of Guy Earl of Warwick in the Chapel at Guy's Cliff, near Warwick.

From N. MacMichael, Esq.:—

Rubbing of a brass inscription from Blatherwycke, Northants.

From G. A. Ruck, Esq., F.S.A.:—

Rubbing of a brass inscription from Isleham, Cambs.

From The Seven Pillars of Wisdom Trustees:—

Archeologichni Pamiatky Ukr. R.S.R., vol. ii, Kiev, 1949. (Typescript, abstracted and translated by Prof. T. Sulimirski, Hon. F.S.A.)

Obituary.—The following Fellows have died since the last Anniversary:—

Royal Fellow

H.M. Queen Mary—24th March 1953.

Honorary Fellow

Professor Michael Ivanovitch Rostovtseff, 20th October 1952.

Ordinary Fellows

Percy Walter Lewis Adams, 6th December 1952.

Ettwell Augustine Bracher Barnard, M.A., 16th February 1953.

Henry Hodgkinson Bobart, M.B.E., 30th December 1952.

Sir Leonard Twiston Davies, K.B.E., 8th January 1953.

Sir William Llewellyn Davies, M.A., 11th November 1952.

William Henry Davison, Baron Broughshane, K.B.E., D.L., M.A., 19th January 1953.

Robert Holmes Edleston, 30th November 1952.

John Henry Edwards, 16th November 1952.

Henry Walter Fincham, 16th August 1952.

William Evelyn St. Lawrence Finny, O.B.E., J.P., 10th October 1952.

Montague Spencer Giuseppe, I.S.O., 11th February 1953.

Robert Samuel Godfrey, C.B.E., M.A., 30th March 1953.

Sir Robert Vaughan Gower, K.C.V.O., M.P., 6th March 1953.

Rev. Canon Norman Sydney Harding, B.A., 21st December 1952.

Arthur John Hawkes, 12th December 1952.

Rt. Rev. Abbot Ethelbert Horne, 3rd November 1952.

Gavin Heynes Jack, F.R.I.B.A., M.Inst.C.E., 22nd September 1952.

Sir Frederic George Kenyon, C.B.E., K.C.B., D.Litt., LL.D., F.B.A., 23rd August 1952.

Col. Sir Edwin James King, K.C.B., C.M.G., A.D.C., D.L., J.P., M.A., 11th July 1952.

John Wilkinson Latham, 4th December 1952.

James Macgregor, 20th March 1953.

Mrs. Dorothy Mary Mackay, B.A., B.Sc., 8th February 1953.

Philip Nelson, M.A., M.D., Ch.B., Ph.D., 17th February 1953.

Reginald Hugh Nichols, 23rd October 1952.

Hugh Owen, M.A., 18th March 1953.

Sir Charles Reed Peers, C.B.E., M.A., Litt.D., D.Lit., D.C.L., F.B.A., F.R.I.B.A., 16th November 1952.

Geoffrey Lloyd Reckitt, M.C., M.A., 9th June 1952.

Francis Geoffrey Rendall, M.A., 2nd December 1952.

Sir Lindsay Scott, K.B.E., D.S.C., M.A., 17th June 1952.

Sir Henry Thomas, M.A., D.Litt., LL.D., F.B.A., 21st July 1952.

Professor Alexander Hamilton Thompson, C.B.E., M.A., D.Litt., LL.D., F.B.A., 4th September 1952.

Rev. John Todd, M.A., 7th May 1952.

John William Walker, O.B.E., F.R.C.S., 17th February 1953.

Rev. Canon Charles Edwin Whiting, M.A., D.D., D.Litt., B.C.L., 24th March 1953.

ETTWELL AUGUSTINE BRACHER BARNARD, who died on 16th February 1953, was elected a Fellow in 1912 and served on the Council in 1925. Born at Evesham and educated at St. Catharine's College, Cambridge, he was an authority on the history and antiquities of the Vale of Evesham and from 1906 until his death was a regular contributor of notes and articles to the *Evesham Journal*. Until he removed to Cambridge he played a prominent part in the life of the town and in 1951 was elected an Honorary Freeman of the Borough. He was President of the Worcestershire Archaeological Society (1923-5) and for twenty-five years edited its *Transactions*, which he was instrumental in establishing as a separate publication. In Cambridge he was engaged in historical research, becoming in 1939 deputy editor, under Dr. J. A. Venn, F.S.A., of *Alumni Cantabrigienses*. He was Keeper of the Records of his own College and Keeper of Episcopal Records at Ely (1942), both Secretary and Editor of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society (1930-5), and Vice-President of the Cambridge and County Folk Museum.

His work was recognized by the award of the honorary M.A. degree in 1935.

For our own Society he composed the printed catalogue of the important *Prattinton Collection of Worcestershire History* (1931) and shortly before his death arranged and indexed additional material from the same collection. He was also a Vice-President of the Royal Archaeological Institute, 1937-40.

SIR LEONARD TWISTON DAVIES, whose death on 8th January 1953 will be a heavy loss to the cultural life of Wales, was elected a Fellow in 1949. High Sheriff of Monmouthshire in 1933, he was for long a member of the County Council. He was a generous benefactor to the National Museum of Wales, his services to which were recognized by his election as President. He was Vice-President also of the National Library of Wales and was a member of the Standing Commission on Museums. He was joint author of *Welsh Life in the 18th Century*, *Welsh Furniture* (1950), and of several biographical studies.

ROBERT HOLMES EDLESTON, who died on 30th November 1952 in his 84th year, was elected a Fellow in 1902 and became a familiar figure in the Society's Library. Born in 1868 at his father's vicarage at Gainford, he was a man of many parts. For his services as Consul of the Republic of San Marino he was given the title of Baron de Montalbo, under which name he ran the horses which he bred at Newmarket and elsewhere. He was a lay reader in the Diocese of Ely. In 1919 he received the Gold Medal of the Italian Red Cross, became a Knight Commander of the Order of Francis I of Sicily and Knight Grand Cross in 1926. He lived for a time in the Palace of the Bishops of Lincoln at Buckden and was the lord of several manors in Cambridge-

shire, Norfolk, Yorkshire, and Durham. A member of numerous archaeological societies, he contributed articles to the *Antiquary*, *Archaeologia Aeliana*, and the *Transactions* of the Durham and Northumberland Architectural and Archaeological Society. He was Vice-President of the Surtees Society (1909) and President of the Peterborough Society (1925). His chief interest lay in the incised slabs of the Continent, on which he published two monographs (1944 and 1951) as supplements to Creeny, illustrated from his own rubbings.

HENRY WALTER FINCHAM, who died on 16th August 1952 in his 94th year, was elected a Fellow in 1920. In 1888, when in business in St. John Street, Clerkenwell, he became churchwarden of the Priory Church, then the Parish Church. Thereafter he devoted more than sixty years to the Order of St. John, and saw its library and museum become widely known. He became a Knight of Grace of the Order of St. John in 1924.

WILLIAM EVELYN ST. LAWRENCE FINNY, who died on 10th October 1952 at the age of 88, was elected a Fellow in 1930. He was an authority on the history and antiquities of Kingston upon Thames, where he practised as a surgeon. For fifty years a member of the Town Council, he took a prominent part in the affairs of the Royal Borough, was five times Mayor, and both High Steward and Freeman. He joined the Surrey Archaeological Society in 1892, was a frequent member of its Council, and its Vice-President in 1941.

MONTAGUE SPENCER GIUSEPPI, who died on 11th February 1953, was a well-known figure at the meetings of the Society which he attended frequently until shortly before his death in his 84th year. He entered the Public Record Office in 1891 and at the time of his death was still engaged in important editorial work for the Historical Manuscripts Commission. He was a valued member of many councils and committees, of his own County Archaeological Society in Surrey, of the Huguenot Society, and of our own Society. Elected a Fellow in 1895, he served on the Council in 1904 and 1905 and again in 1913 and 1914, was a member of the Executive Committee from 1922 to 1930, and a Vice-President from 1922 to 1925. He was the author of *A Guide to the Manuscripts preserved in the Public Record Office* (1923) and a second volume, *The State Papers and Records of Public Departments* (1924). He contributed papers to *Archaeologia* and *Proceedings* and wrote many reviews in the *Journal*.

ROBERT SAMUEL GODFREY, who died on 30th March 1953 at the age of 76, was elected a Fellow in 1936. At the early age of 27 he was appointed Surveyor and Clerk of Works at Lincoln Cathedral, a post he held for fifty years. He originated the method of grouting the foundations of the cathedral under pressure that has since been widely adopted for ancient buildings elsewhere. In 1952 the Archbishop of Canterbury conferred upon him a Lambeth degree of M.A.

THE RT. REVEREND ETHELBERT HORNE, Titular Abbot of Glastonbury, who died on 3rd November 1952 at the age of 93, was elected a Fellow in 1924. He entered the priesthood in 1879, became Prior of Downside Abbey in 1929, but resigned in 1934 to devote more time to antiquarian work in Somerset. He directed excavations at Glastonbury Abbey, was President of the Somerset Archaeological Society in 1940-1, and did considerable work on Roman and Saxon remains in Somerset. He served on the Council in 1930.

GAVIN HEYNES JACK, who died on 22nd September 1952 at the age of 78, was elected a Fellow in 1917. He served on the Council in 1927 and was local secretary for Herefordshire, 1917-33. Trained as an architect and civil engineer, in 1907 he became surveyor, architect, and bridgmaster to the Herefordshire County Council and carried out valuable work in restoring ancient bridges in that county. Under the auspices of the Woolhope Club, of which he was

President in 1916, he excavated at Ariconium and Kenchester and published accounts of the work with the late A. G. K. Hayter, F.S.A. He was a keen geologist and was elected a Fellow of the Geological Society at the age of 19.

PHILIP NELSON, who died on 17th February 1953 at the age of 81, was elected a Fellow in 1912. Son of a Liverpool shipowner, he took high honours in medicine and surgery, but his career as a consultant was cut short by injury to his right arm. He became thereafter an enthusiastic collector in many fields: the gold coinage of the York moneyers, the stained glass in English churches, and Anglo-Saxon archaeology were among his many interests. He contributed papers to *Archaeologia* and the *Antiquaries Journal* and frequently exhibited objects at the Society's meetings.

FRANCIS GEOFFREY RENDALL, who was elected a Fellow in 1935, died suddenly on 2nd December 1952 at the age of 62. Educated at Radley and Trinity College, Cambridge, he entered the British Museum in 1914. After the First World War, in which he served in France and with the R.N. Division, he found congenial work on the *Catalogue of XVth Century Books*. In 1948 he became Keeper of Printed Books. Among his wide interests music predominated. He was a founder-member of the Galpin Society in 1946 and was himself the first authority on the clarinet. His *History of the Clarinet*, completed before his death, is to be published shortly. He also contributed a number of articles to Grove's *Dictionary*. He served on the Library Committee of this Society.

MICHAEL IVANOVITCH ROSTOVTSSEFF, who was elected an Hon. Fellow in 1928, died on 20th October 1952, aged 81. Born and educated at Kiev, after a period of travel he became in 1903 Professor of Ancient History in St. Petersburg Imperial University and in the University of Women. On the Revolution in 1918 he left Russia never to return. After two years in Oxford, he was appointed to the Chair of Ancient History at Wisconsin University and migrated to Yale in 1925. At his suggestion in 1928 excavations at Dura-Europos, begun by M. F. Cumont, were resumed jointly by the French Academy of Inscriptions and Yale University: the important results are still in course of publication. Among his many publications may be mentioned *Iranians and Greeks in South Russia* (1922), *The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire* (1926), *A History of the Ancient World* (1926-7), and *The Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World* (1941), all masterpieces of historical interpretation.

SIR WARWICK LINDSAY SCOTT, who died on 17th June 1952 at the age of 60, was elected a Fellow in 1935. Educated at St. Paul's and Clare College, Cambridge, he entered the R.N.V.R. on the outbreak of the First World War and earned the D.S.C. Thereafter he had a distinguished career as a civil servant, first in the Colonial Office and later in the Air Ministry. In 1940 he became Second Secretary of the Ministry of Aircraft Production. He was appointed K.B.E. in 1942 and retired four years later to devote himself to archaeology. His main interests lay in pre-history. His excavations, begun in 1929 in the Hebrides, were conducted with a skill not previously applied in that province. His reports, and a series of articles, were marked by originality and thoroughness. He was President of the Prehistoric Society from 1946 to 1949, Vice-President of the Council for British Archaeology from 1945 until 1949, a member of the Management Committee of the Institute of Archaeology, and served on the Council of this Society in 1944-5.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON THOMPSON, who died on 4th September 1952 at the age of 78, was elected a Fellow in 1911. Eldest son of the Rev. John Thompson, Vicar of St. Gabriel's, Bristol,

he was educated at Clifton and St. John's College, Cambridge, where he was elected an Honorary Fellow in 1938. Soon after graduating in 1895, he became a University Extension lecturer for the Cambridge Syndicate and in 1901 published his *Students' History of English Literature*, at the same time entering upon the arduous research into English medieval records on which his reputation mainly rests. The results of these studies were his well-known books on the *Ground Plan of the English Parish Church* and *The Growth of the English Parish Church*, both appearing in 1911, followed soon after by *Military Architecture in England in the Middle Ages* (1912) and *English Monasteries* (1913). In 1914 appeared the first volume of his *Visitations of Religious Houses in the Diocese of Lincoln*, vol. iii of which was published in 1926. From this time onwards his output was enormous; books, scholarly articles, detailed studies of individual buildings, contributions to the *Cambridge Medieval History* and the *Cambridge History of English Literature* and many reviews, not to mention editions of the English poets, amounted to no less than 413 entries in the bibliography that was presented to him by his many friends in 1948. This included his last major work, the Ford Lectures of 1933, published under the title *The English Clergy and their Organisation in the Later Middle Ages* (1947).

His academic career had begun with his appointment as lecturer at Armstrong College, Newcastle upon Tyne, in 1919. In 1922 he became Reader in Medieval History and Architecture at Leeds University. He was promoted Professor two years later and became Head of the Faculty of History in 1927, a position he held until his retirement in 1939. He was appointed a member of the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments in 1933 and two years later a member of the Ancient Monuments Board.

He edited the *Archaeological Journal* for many years and was President of the Royal Archaeological Institute from 1937 to 1945. He served as President or Vice-President of numerous other archaeological and historical societies. He was a Vice-President of this Society from 1933 to 1937, served both on the Council and the Executive Committee in 1940-1, and was a member of the Croft Lyons Committee from 1939 to 1951. He was also a member of the Central Council for the Care of Churches and served on several Diocesan Advisory Committees. Appointed C.B.E. in 1938, he received honorary doctorates from the Universities of Leeds and Durham and was Hon. Associate of the Royal Institute of British Architects. He was elected Fellow of the British Academy in 1929.

But the mere record of his remarkably active life leaves something still to be said about the man. This may be summed up in the words of the Address presented to him on his 75th birthday:

'No man in our time has made more friends, for no man has been more generous of time and sympathy to those who sought his help. His pupils are to be found everywhere; at the places where he has taught, Newcastle, Leeds, Durham, and in every corner of England. He has delighted thousands by his lectures and his talks. He has put life and meaning into the ruins and monuments of the past, inside and outside England and Wales, for hundreds to whom, without his guidance, they would have remained mere picturesque survivals or objects of an uninformed astonishment. And he has done as much as any man to give a strong and lasting impetus to the systematic and intelligent study of the past, on the ground and in the library. He has lived in one life the lives of half a dozen scholars, consorting together in mutual content, yet always happy to welcome strangers to their feasts.'

JOHN WILLIAM WALKER, who died on 17th February 1953 at the age of 93, was a Fellow for sixty-four years, having been elected in June 1888. He remained a regular user of the Library to within a few months of his death. For many years a surgeon in Wakefield, he was the oldest member of the Yorkshire Archaeological Society, which he joined in 1884, and had filled all its offices, acting as its President from 1938 to 1948. He was the author of books on Wakefield,

the church plate of Berkshire, and on Robin Hood, and contributed several papers to Proceedings. He served on the Council in 1925 and 1926.

CANON CHARLES EDWIN WHITING, who died on 24th March 1953, was elected a Fellow in 1931. Educated at Hatfield College, Durham, he graduated with classical honours in 1902 and subsequently proceeded to the B.D. and B.C.L. degrees, and was awarded the D.D. in 1927. In 1916 he became Vice-Principal of St. Chad's College, Durham, and from that time until his retirement played a leading part in the life of the University at Durham. He was lecturer in Ecclesiastical History from 1918 to 1922 and later became the first Professor of History at Durham (1931-9), a member of the Senate, and Senior Fellow of St. Chad's. He received the honorary D.Litt. in 1946 at the centenary of Hatfield College. On his retirement in 1939 he was appointed Vicar of Hickleton, Doncaster. He took a prominent part in archaeology in the north: for twenty years President of the Durham and Northumberland Archaeological Society, he was also President of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle upon Tyne, 1942-3, and the Yorkshire Archaeological Society from 1948 until his death. Apart from his work as a historian, he edited a number of parish registers, several volumes in the Yorkshire Archaeological Society's Record Series, and took an interest in archaeological excavations, several of which he conducted himself.

The Scrutators having handed in their report, the following were declared elected officers and members of Council for the ensuing year: Sir James Mann, President; Mr. H. L. Bradfer-Lawrence, Treasurer; Sir Mortimer Wheeler, Director; Mr. R. L. S. Bruce-Mitford, Secretary; Mr. C. K. Adams, Dr. John Allan, Mr. J. W. Brailsford, Dr. G. E. Daniel, Dr. N. Davey, Mr. E. S. de Beer, Mr. F. C. Francis, Mr. W. F. Grimes, Brig. O. F. G. Hogg, Mr. M. R. Hull, Sir T. Kendrick, Dr. E. G. Millar, Dr. V. E. Nash-Williams, and Dr. M. Whinney.

The meeting then adjourned until 5.30 p.m., when the President delivered his Anniversary Address (p. 153).

On the motion of Dr. D. B. Harden, Vice-President, the following resolution was carried unanimously: 'That the best thanks of the Meeting be given to the President for his Address and that he be requested to allow it to be printed.' The President signified his assent.

Thursday, 30th April 1953. Dr. E. G. Millar, Vice-President, in the Chair.

Mr. A. G. R. Buck and Mr. J. A. Petch were admitted Fellows.

It was announced that the President had appointed Mr. W. F. Grimes to be a Vice-President.

Prof. C. F. C. Hawkes, F.S.A., read a paper on types, cultures, and datings in the British Bronze Age.

Thursday, 7th May 1953. Dr. E. G. Millar, Vice-President, in the Chair.

Mr. A. Welford was admitted a Fellow.

The following were elected Fellows of the Society: Mr. A. G. Grimwade, Dr. W. A. Singleton, Mr. F. Sharpe, Lord Mottistone, Mr. J. R. C. Hamilton, Rev. A. G. Mathew, Mr. R. W. Symonds, Dr. G. A. Auden, Dr. W. H. C. Friend, Mr. D. W. Clark, Mr. J. L. Nevinson, Rev. C. B. Crofts, Prof. M. Deanesly, Mr. M. S. F. Hood, Mr. W. H. R. Blacking, Mr. S. H. Nowell-Smith, Prof. R. J. H. Jenkins, and Mr. T. F. Barton.

Dr. E. G. Millar, V.-P.S.A., exhibited a Psalter, written and illuminated in the Diocese of York about A.D. 1250, and La Somme le Roy, with eleven miniatures attributed to the Parisian illuminator Honoré.

Mr. B. H. St. J. O'Neil, F.S.A., exhibited a bronze enamelled penannular brooch from St. Martin's, Scilly.

Mr. B. W. Pearce, F.S.A., exhibited a Belgic beaker, stamped CATVS, and the base of a mica-dusted beaker, stamped ? CANICOS, from Richborough.

Mr. W. F. Grimes, V.-P.S.A., exhibited some imitation antiquities from the City Ditch of London.

Thursday, 14th May 1953. Mr. W. F. Grimes, Vice-President, in the Chair.

Prof. Deanesly, Rev. A. G. Mathew, Mr. D. W. Clark, Mr. R. W. Symonds, Dr. W. A. Singleton, Mr. J. L. Nevinson, Mr. F. Sharpe, Mr. H. Duff, Mr. R. D. Barnett, and Mr. S. H. Nowell-Smith were admitted Fellows.

Mr. A. J. B. Wace, F.S.A., read a paper on recent work at Mycenae.

The Ordinary Meetings of the Society were then adjourned until Thursday, 15th October 1953.

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